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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 8, No. 6 January, 1973

WHO RULES AMERICA?—II

—Behind the Scenes Masters: How They Run the Government—

Racists on the Run

—SDS-led Anti-racist Campaign Forces Campus Nazis' Retreat—

The Fight for Socialism: A Life-and-Death Struggle

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PL PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Published by the Progressive Labor Party

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR: G.P.O. Box 808
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11201**

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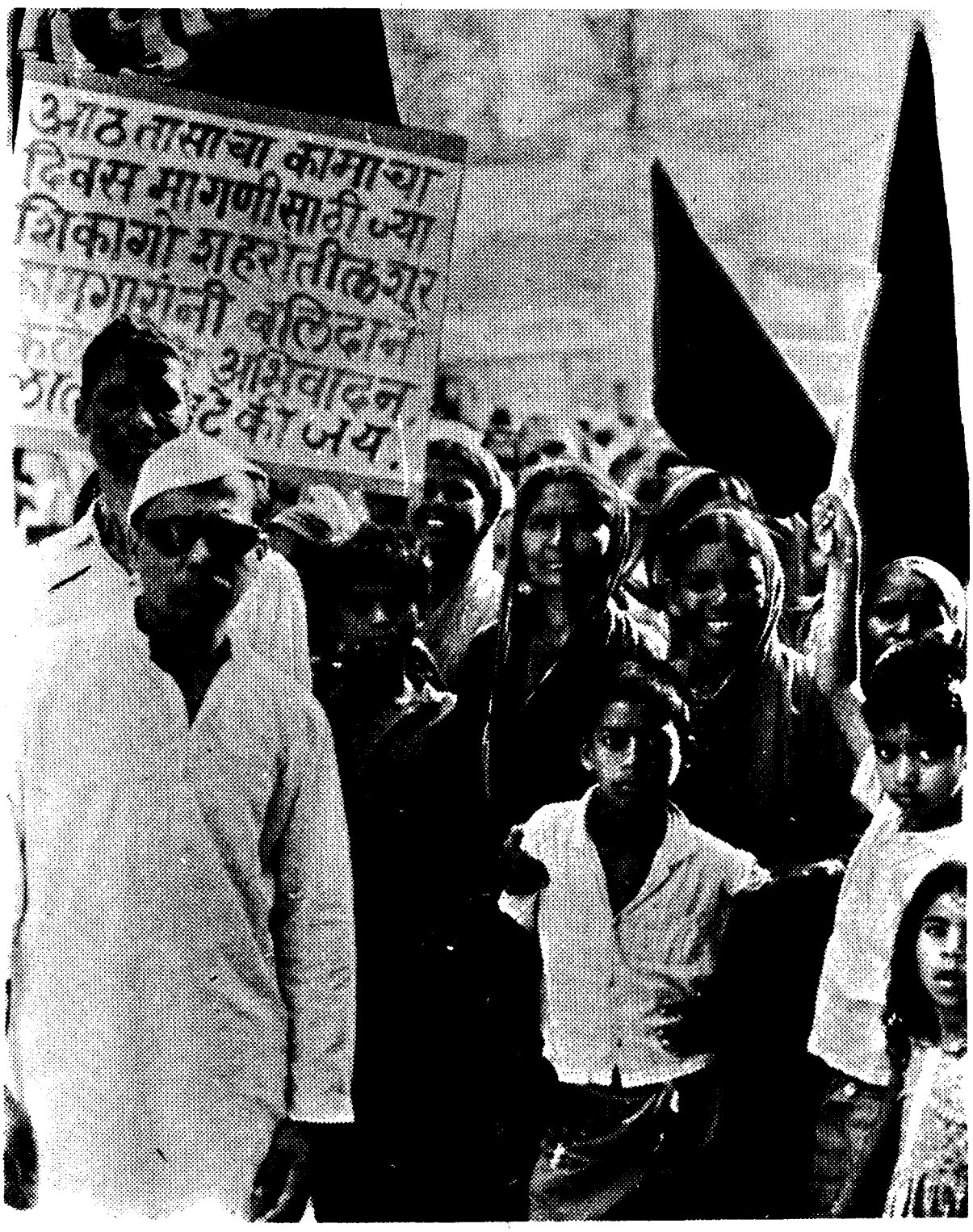
WASHINGTON—Box 12774, Seattle, Wash. 98111.

Subscription rates: $2.50 per six issues, 50¢ per issue.
Airmail subcription rates:
USA, North and South America – $7
Europe (excluding Eastern Europe) — $10
Asia, Africa, Middle East, Oceania and
Eastern Europe – $12



"Hail to the brave workers of Chicago and their demand for the eight-hour work day. Victory to the Red Flag!"

- CITY WORKERS OF POONA, INDIA
IN A MAY DAY MARCH 1971
ORGANIZED BY THE RED FLAG

PLP poster

Who Rules America?—II

How the Bosses Run the Government

"So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes." (Those lines were written by Benjamin Disraeli, the 19th Century prime minister of Britain, who was in a clear position to know.) "Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government. You will always find that while you are politely listened to, the men who are really consulted are the men who have the big stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, and the big masters of commerce... The masters of the Government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States." (Woodrow Wilson, who during his administration also only consulted the big bankers, etc.)

In an election year such as 1972, millions of Americans, the majority of eligible voters, go to the polls to elect a president. Of those that don't go, most are "for" one candidate or the other; some wish there was someone else running. But almost everyone would agree that the elections determine who runs the country for the next four years. Yet most people also sense that Disraeli's statement is true—that there are some "insiders" who will continue to run the country no matter who is elected.

This article will attempt to prove that the President of the United States is **not** the "most powerful office in the land," that there are certain other offices, none of which are chosen by elections, that are more powerful, i.e. Chairman of the Board at Chase Manhattan. Moreover, we want to show that the whole slew of elective offices have no real power to change the class relations in the U.S. We are not necessarily saying there's not a dime's worth of difference between the Democrats and Republicans although that may be true, but **that there is not a dime's worth of real power at stake in any election.**

This is not to say we should boycott or ignore all elections. Elections can often be an important method of struggle; like a demonstration, an election can be a powerful manifestation of popular dissatisfaction. Elections can be used to raise in a broad way certain working-class demands. And elections can be used to put pressure on the rulers for certain reforms in much the same way as a demonstration. But elections can never get rid of the rulers themselves.

In this article we will try to avoid getting into personalities. We will not name the rulers. In the first place the personalities change. In the second place, it is not particularly important which individuals wield power, since they act as a group. But most important, we want to emphasize that it is not a conspiracy of evil men, but a class—that has objective interests exactly opposite to those of the working people of this country. These men are all individuals and undoubtedly have individual views and motives, but we are interested in what unites them and those who will succeed them. For it is their **class** which runs this country.

The capitalist class runs the country. But there are capitalists and capitalists—of the 202,710 industrial corporations (in 1970), more than 75% of the industrial assets are owned by the top 619. These 3/10 of one per cent of the corporations (those worth more than $100,000,000) collect 82% of all corporate profits. Generally speaking the remaining 202,091 companies are either sub-contractors to, or cheap job shops for, the big 619 or in some way service the needs of the big 619. (See **Fortune Directory** for a listing of these.) In a previous article (**Who Really Rules America, PL** Vol., 7 #4) we further showed that almost all of these top 619 corporations were controlled by 11 major financial cliques. Moreover, the bulk of the financial and industrial clout was centered in the interlocking Morgan and Rockefeller groups. These two groups control five of the six key wholesale banks in the U.S.: Morgan Guaranty Trust, Bankers Trust (Morgan); Chase Manhatten, First National City Bank, Chemical Bank (Rockefeller) and are interlocked with the sixth, Manufacturer's Hanover Trust. It is mainly through wholesale banking (corporate loans) that control of the top 619 corporations is exercised. Thus, it is at the top of the key financial institutions of the Morgan and Rockefeller groups that we will find most of the behind-the-scenes rulers. The rest will be provided from the upper crust of the other major financial groups: the Boston group (the Cabots, First National Bank of Boston, etc.), the Mellon group, the Cleveland group (Cyrus Eaton, Cleveland Trust, etc.) and the Bank of America group. (See **PL,** Vol. 7, #4 for details of these financial groups.)

In the previous article we showed how these few bankers and financiers weaved a web of control of all finance, industry and commerce in the U.S. In this article we will try to get a small picture of how they control the political apparatus,

as well, and use it as a tool to further their class interests.

In this article we will first discuss how this financial oligarchy controls the mass media, since the ability to mould public opinion is a key in controlling the political process. Secondly, we will look at how they intervene directly in the electoral process or get their men appointed no matter who is elected. Thirdly, we will glance at the methods they use to control foreign policy and the key regulatory agencies, no matter who is the elected or the appointed official ostensibly "in charge." And finally, we will try, as best as outsiders looking in can, to get an idea how they formulate policy, where they meet—in short, what are the real ruling bodies.

WHO IS IN THE RULING GROUP

Before we start, it will be useful to get a picture of just who these insiders are. All of them are capitalists, but are all capitalists rulers? Hardly! For example, there is a company in Los Angeles called Brilles Manufacturing. Owned by the Brilles family, it employs around 500 and makes fasteners for the big aircraft companies—Boeing, McDonald-Douglas and North American. Although the Brilles are capitalists and anti-union, low-wage paying bastards who made several million dollars running an unsafe, racist sweatshop, they are not in the ruling group or even close. Obviously Boeing or North-American could close them down. Even the presidents and officers of Boeing and North-American are not necessarily in the ruling group, although they are big-time capitalists, since their companies depend, in turn, on the big New York banks for financial survival. It is to the top ruling financial institutions that we look for the ruling group.

Table I in the Appendix lists the top financial institutions in the country that control almost all of the big industrial, commercial and transportation giants and heavily influence the rest. Like any list, it is somewhat arbitrary—maybe this company should have been left out, or that one not included—but, by and large, it is among the boards of directors and partners of these firms that we will find the financial elite that runs the country.

One more matter: not every member of the Board of Chase Manhattan is equal. Even before David Rockefeller became chairman, for example, he was more influential than the others—after all it was "his family's bank." More generally, some members come to the boards to make decisions; others come to carry them out. To decide who are the decision-makers and who are the top-level flunkies, Domhoff's definition of "upper class" is useful. (See **The Higher Circles** by G. William Domhoff, New York, 1970. pp 21-27.)

He lists five criteria, any one of which qualifies one as a member of the "upper class." These boil down to being listed on the **Social Register,** having attended certain prep schools, or belonging to certain upper class clubs which he names. For our purposes, let us define the ruling group as those members or past members of the boards or partners in the financial institutions listed in **Table I** who also come from a family that is "upper class" by Domhoff's definition.

I. THE LORDS OF THE PRESS AND THE AIR-WAVES

The mass media is a form of communication unique to the imperialist phase of capitalism. In the imperialist phase, it is necessary to enlist the support of the workers and the broad masses of farmers and petit-bourgeoisie for imperialist adventures on behalf of the small financial oligarchy. Thus, the mass media is invented to "inform" the masses; under an earlier stage of capitalism it was preferable to keep them "ignorant of public affairs." In the U.S., among the first forms of mass media were the penny Western novels, used to justify the genocide against the Indians and the journals used to create an atmosphere that "justified" the Spanish-American imperialist war and U.S. intervention in World War I. Then came radio and the movies. Today TV and the big city dailies are the main means of "informing" the mass of workers about the necessity of supporting imperialism, promoting racism, anti-communism and other methods of dulling the workers' class consciousness. The newsmagazines, "scholarly" journals and books—along with TV and newspapers—are used to brainwash the students and intellectuals along lines favorable to imperialism. Also certain specialized journals, **Business Week, Fortune, Wall Street Journal,** as well as the above, are used to explain and push the policies of the ruling group to the mass of executives, managers, small, medium and semi-large capitalists to gain support for the interests of the small financial ruling class. Not that these methods are 100% successful. They have some strong effect, but class struggle continually comes to the fore. The ruling class puts such store in the effort to control public opinion that it has taken over directly the running of the mass media.

TELEVISION

Table II lists the three TV networks, their holdings and their control. There are two main points these tables prove: (1) The three networks are all very tightly controlled by the Morgan and Rockefeller financial groups. The presence of powerful directors and officers of First National City Bank, Bankers Trust, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, etc. on the boards of the three networks indicates the high priority given by the bankers to controlling the networks. The fact that no network directors represent even indirectly the interests of the other ruling class groups attests to the monopoly position of the Morgan and Rockefeller groups. Finally, the fact that all fiduciary and debt financing functions of the three networks is in the hands of Bankers Trust, Chemical Bank, Chase Manhattan and Manufacturers Hanover Trust indicates that the financial future and important cash-

flow present is entirely in the hands of the big Morgan-Rockefeller wholesale banks. Moreover, that the boards of the networks include many directors of some of the biggest industrial corporations further attests to the expected lack of "objectivity" of the networks. They serve the big New York banks and the corporations the latter control.

The second fact that emerges from a glance at Table II shows that the networks are big corporate holding companies, themselves, specializing in, but not restricted to, all forms of propaganda and ideas. Several of the biggest publishing houses are owned by the networks; movie theater chains, film companies, record companies, the "progressive toy company" Creative Playthings, amusement parks; even the New York Yankees are among the various other forms of media that the networks use to put forth the ideas that the Morgan and Rockefeller banks want to sell to the people.

But their control of TV air time is their main stock in trade and their monopoly position in this commodity insures the bankers that any anti-ruling class ideas, particularly communist ideas, will be blacked out or distorted. Moreover, facts and news will be filtered and managed to fit a picture of the world that the bankers want to foist on the public. Even "entertainment" programs from "comedies" like "All in the Family" to "mysteries" like "Mod Squad" are carefully framed to fit into the ruling-class picture of the world class struggle that is being painted by the news and documentaries. (Reviews that give a fuller analysis of particular "entertainment" TV shows and that show the conscious use of these shows to foist ruling class ideas—racism, anti-communism, anti-working class myths—have been printed in **Challenge:** "Name of the Game" in V. 6 #4; "Mod Squad" in V. 6 #11; "Sesame Street" in V. 7 #2; "Honeymooners" in V. 7 #6; TV shows made about lawyers in V. 7 #12; movies made for TV in V. 7 #13; "All in the Family" in V. 7 #16; "Smith Family" in V. 8 #1. Soap operas in V. 8 #4; "Green Acres" and "First Tuesday" in V. 8 #5; "Arnie" in V. 8 #8; children's TV cartoons V. 8 #9; "Medical Center" in V. 8 #13—see box.

The news and documentaries are the arena where the networks give a political context to the subtle and not-so-subtle ideas pushed in their "entertainment" shows. They do this in three ways:

(1) Selection and distortion—they black out things they don't want workers to hear about—like PLP's 1971 marches against unemployment; they distort what they do report in a direction that promotes splits among the people or between workers and students (like the coverage of the anti-war movement, giving headlines to anti-worker Yippies and Zippies); or they do reports in such a way as to prepare public opinion for new ideas that the ruling class wants to push—like the spate of specials on China at the time of Nixon's visit to Peking.

(2) Editorializing: By this we mean not only Eric Severeid's periodic blasts at SDS, but the subtle inflections and opinions in the "news" portion by the reporters and anchormen.

(3) Making news: They use the power of the media and their control of communications to directly intervene in a news situation and influence the outcome.

TV "comedies"– 'The Corner Bar' (above) and 'The Super'. The rulers have only one image for the working class-- buffoons.

the Standard
Standard
Big Stories
COMING SOON...

RACIST
VIOLENCE
OUT!!!

The networks operate through their owned and operated stations and their affiliates. In the owned and operated stations (limited to five per network) the networks control 100% of the air time, including local news. These 15 stations (out of 533 total VHF) are the key stations in the country. Each network owns and operates its affiliate in the top three areas—New York, Los Angeles and Chicago—plus two other key areas like San Francisco and Detroit (ABC), Philadelphia and St. Louis (CBS), Cleveland and Washington (NBC). These 3% of the stations control about 40% of the national TV audience and are located in the key industrial cities. And the networks exercise 100% control of that air time.

Of the other 518 TV stations, 409 are network affiliates. These stations are nominally independent; yet three hours of the prime evening time is controlled by the networks. In almost every case, all of the morning, afternoon and late night time is also devoted to the network shows, or to re-runs of old network shows or network-sponsored movies. Practically the only shows these "independents" produce are the local news at 6:00 P.M. and 11:00 P.M. Yet none of these affiliates has a national or international staff and, apart from local news, they are entirely dependent on the networks for camera footage and on the networks or the wire services for news stories.

The networks, through their control of the national and international news, build the frame of reference for the affiliates' coverage of local news. And so, in local news too, the only independent activity carried on by the affiliates is forced to fit into a conception of the world that is being promoted by the Morgan-Rockefeller banks that control the networks.

"Educational" TV, the PBS (Public Broadcasting Service), controls 80 of the remaining 109 VHF stations. It has a small audience and (with one or two exceptions, like "Sesame Street") purposely gears its programs away from the working class.

At this point we should examine briefly the fourth network, NET with 80 VHF affiliates and 80 UHF affiliates. The NET, or PBS, controls all of the programs on educational channels that have any popularity. About 50% are public affairs-type or "in-depth" study of issues; 25% are symphonies, plays—high-brow "culture"; 25%, the most successful, are produced by the Children's Television Workshop, notably "Sesame Street," the only NET program that approaches the commercial networks in popularity. While it pretends to be different, the NET is controlled by the same crowd of Morgan and Rockefeller bankers that control NBC, ABC and CBS.

The NET was created in 1953 by the Ford Foundation, which is controlled by the Morgan and Rockefeller banks. (See Table VIII, Section B) Originally an "exchange center" for programs of the various "educational" stations, when NET was moved by the Ford Foundation to New York from Ann Arbor in 1963, it took up programming and now dominates its affiliates' programs even more than the commercial networks do. Except for some tax money voted to it in 1967, NET has received all its money from the Ford Foundation (better than $100 million) and a few allied foundations. Ford Foundation picked the Board of Directors and controls the financing of NET in just as tight a manner as Bankers Trust controls ABC. The Ford Foundation reserves the right to inspect every NET program produced with Ford Foundation money. Thus, we should not be surprised that there is not "a dime's worth of difference" between NET's "in-depth news analysis" and NBC's "in-depth news team"; or (outside of technical superiority) between **Sesame Street** and **Romper Room;** or between the PBS **Great Film Classic of the Week** and CBS **Friday Night at the Movies.**

Since locally-produced "educational" TV programs are rapidly approaching zero, the ownership of these stations is not too significant. Interestingly enough though, the main ones like San Francisco's channel 9, Boston's Channel 2, New York's Channel 13 and Chicago's Channel 11 are owned by "independent foundations or associations," set up by "prominent citizens"—read local corporate heads and financiers. These are the stations that developed the early programs and still play a subsidiary role to NET in developing national programs. Also, these are the only stations that produce local programs with any significant audience. The remaining stations are run by universities in the case of big university cities (e.g. Albuquerque, Seattle, East Lansing, Madison) or the local school district in smaller towns.

There are only 29 other TV stations, all located in big cities where already three network stations and one NET affiliate exist that dominate at least 90% of the audiences. Seventeen of these 29 are owned by newspaper chains, the other 12 by assorted collections of entrepreneurs. They produce virtually no programs of their own, but show mainly old movies and re-runs of the network's re-runs. Their news footage, like the affiliates', comes from the networks.

The political significance of the control of TV air time by a handful of bankers and financiers is vast, but not overwhelming. We do not believe that with all their powers, the networks are able to "brainwash" the working class. Despite two decades of programs about how affluent and middle class everybody is supposed to be, workers still know that unemployment, racism, speed-up, below-poverty wage levels exist. Moreover, they know how to fight against it despite the lies and distortions from TV. And two decades of anti-communism from the networks is having a diminishing effect on people. In fact, the networks —in the face of wide-spread disbelief and in order to keep their cover of "objectivity" and their audiences—have been forced to beat a retreat from the "everybody-is-middle-class" image they tried to foist on us lately.

A new series of phony heroes have been dredged

up to replace the old ones—the store-front lawyers replaced Perry Mason, Archie Bunker replaced Robert Young, and the Mod Squad replaced Dragnet. The news stories focus on various phony nationalists, liberals and other network-sponsored "spokesmen of the oppressed." But the new "hip" programming will be no more effective than the old, because workers learn about the class struggle in the factory, not in front of the tube, and the ugly facts of capitalism can't be covered up.

The agency responsible for "policing" the airways is the FCC. It has always acted as a front for the big networks while keeping in line what small stations there are that aren't completely controlled from New York. The present FCC is made up of: (1) a corporate fund-raiser for the Republican Party; (2) an administrator for the National Association of Broadcasters—the network's industry group; (3) an official of the bosses' U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; (4) a former imperialist viceroy of the U.S. colony of Samoa; (5) a former executive of a big Chicago railroad; (6) a big wheel in Bell & Howell Corp., (7) an FBI man. This collection of loyal flunkies to the ruling class have never registered a decision which went against the broad interests of the networks. In a typical year we studied, out of over 100 rulings, the FCC registered no rulings whatsoever against the networks or their owned and operated stations. They did revoke the licenses of 17 small radio and TV stations for "slanting, falsification, distortion, and suppression of the News," "not serving the needs of communication," "causing a public disorder," "selecting program matter to serve the private interests of the licensee," "unauthorized control of the station," etc.

No progressive stations were involved in these revocations (because none exist), but it can be seen what broad powers the FCC does have and that the vaguest reasons, subject only to the interpretation of these seven long-time corporate and government managers, are enough to revoke the license of any small station. The networks are untouchable. This power is effective in preventing any independent station, radio or TV, from presenting a viewpoint contrary to that of the networks.

We have concentrated on the 533 VHF (Channels 2 through 13) TV stations, since these are the most powerful moulders of public opinion on the airways. We have seen that the Morgan-Rockefeller banks exercise complete control here. They are less interested in the other broadcasters because these have a far, far smaller effect on the public; moreover, they can leave the policing of UHF (Channels 14 through 84) TV, AM radio and FM radio to the FCC. And almost all the rulings and revocation of licenses and the policing of political content of broadcasting involves AM, FM and UHF. Of the 183 UHF stations, all of them are in cities already dominated by at least three network-controlled VHF stations; half are NET "educational" TV; of the rest, most are either network-affiliated or operated by some newspaper or rich foundation.

The networks have less direct control in **radio**; something like 500 of the 4300 AM stations; a little bigger percentage of the FM. These include almost all of the "news" or "serious" stations; a few big newspapers own the rest. Few of the other stations present much besides music from ruling-class record companies and a little bit of news from the wire services. Interestingly enough, 20 years ago, when radio was much more important for moulding public opinion, the radio networks were much bigger and there were very few independent stations.

NEWSPAPERS

Table III lists the major newspaper chains in the country. Of the 42 daily newspapers with a circulation greater than 300,000, 30 are owned by the 10 big chains. Two others (Chicago **Sun-Times** and Chicago **News**) are owned by Field Enterprises, a company controlled by the main Chicago banks. The ten others are owned by independent millionaires such as the Pulitzer family (St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**), the Schiff family (New York **Post**) and Oveta Culp Hobby (Houston **Post**). These three millionaires and some others who own "independent" papers have strong links with the ruling class. (For example the Schiff family is connected with Kuhn, Loeb Investment Co.) The chains are of two types: ruling class chains and independent family-owned chains. The ruling class chains set the editorial tone for both the family chains and the independent family newspapers. We turn now to examine the three main chains.

Most people know the New York **Times** is the most influential paper in the country—few know how big it really is. Through direct ownership in some cases, but more often through a complex series of interlocks, stock arrangements and financial manipulations, the **Times** also controls or heavily influences four other dailies in the top 42 (Minneapolis **Star-Tribune**, Milwaukee **Sentinel Journal**, Des Moines **Register-Tribune**, Seattle **Times**) as well as 16 smaller dailies, a slew of TV stations, book companies, magazines, etc. In turn, the **Times** itself is controlled by the main banking and brokerage institutions of the Morgan group. Directors from Bankers Trust and Lazard Frères provided the financial clout that allowed the **Times** to make these acquisitions, while Morgan Guaranty Trust and Manufacturers Hanover Trust control the fiduciary functions of the **Times**. The **Times** has an army of correspondents and bureaus around the world whose bylines are seen in almost all the big U.S. dailies; in addition, its superior newsgathering allows it to exert a large influence on AP, the wire service co-op.

The only other two chains with a similar influence and similar range of correspondents are the Washington **Post** and the Los Angeles **Times**. The **Post** is controlled by the same group of financiers who control the New York **Times**—the Morgan group. The Los Angeles **Times** is controlled by the Bank of America and its financial al-

When one columnist-David Deitch, Boston Globe-wrote the truth, out he went. Here SDS pickets in his behalf.

lies, but in recent years has admitted a minority of Morgan interests to the board. This may be due to the growing ties between Bank of America and the Morgan Group or to recognition of the Morgan group as pre-eminent in journalism.

The influence of these three ruling-class chains, and in particular the New York **Times,** can't be measured in circulation alone. The New York **Times** has a circulation of 1,500,000; counting its satellite papers, this comes to 4,000,000. The Los Angeles **Times** has a circulation of 1,300,000; with its two satellites it controls 2,100,000. The Washington **Post** has a circulation of 665,000. Yet the 120 major dailies in the U.S. have a combined circulation of 34,000,000. Thus, the three chains directly run by the ruling class control 20% of the circulation. Yet they strongly influence the reportorial and editorial content of the others. How does this work? Let's look at the most powerful family chain:

Everyone "knows" that the Hearst chain is one of the most extreme right-wing, ultra-conservative set of newspapers around; supposedly the exact opposite of the liberal New York **Times.** And so it can be expected that Hearst, who loudly applauded Agnew's attack on the "effete snobs" of the New York **Times,** would have nothing to do with the latter. Right?—Wrong!! A survey of all the major Hearst newspapers shows that the front pages and editorial columns abound with stories and editorials from the New York **Times.** We picked up Hearst's Boston **Record-American & Herald Traveller** for a random week. We counted 30 front page stories of other than local interest; 15 of these, no less than half, bore bylines of the New York **Times;** 11 others were from the wire services and only four were written by Hearst correspondents. Moreover, content-wise it was impossible to tell which were written by "liberals" from the **Times** and which by the "reactionaries" from Hearst. And this situation exists on all the Hearst papers—San Francisco **Chronicle-Examiner;** Seattle **Post-Intelligencer,** Baltimore **News-American** and so on.

We went further; we took another random week and examined the editorial pages of Hearst's Seattle **Post-Intelligencer.** Examining columns and editorials on issues of other than local significance, we could find only three written by Hearst or his minions and eight reprinted from the New York **Times.** Moreover, the cartoons did not come from Hearst cartoonists but in good part from the Washington **Post** or the Los Angeles **Times.** Now, it is one thing for Hearst to give up his news columns to the "effete snobs" because they command a much bigger news gathering apparatus, but we would have thought at least he would keep his editorial pages. Yet such is the power of the ruling-class press that even a man like Hearst, who claims to hate them, allows his paper to become dominated by them. (While it is true that liberals like the **Times** and conservatives like Hearst have more in common with each other than with the working class, it would be wrong to cover up the extremely serious differences of both a tactical and strategic nature that

exist. The differences stem from the class outlook of a big imperialist financial group, that the **Times** represents, as opposed to the parochial outlook of the medium and large—but not international—manufacturing company that Hearst historically has represented.)

How did this come about—Hearst's surrender to the "effete snobs"? The Hearst chain is a closed family chain, and it is hard to tell what the relationship of various forces were that forced Hearst to turn his papers over to the **Times.** Several factors may have been important:

(1) Big corporate advertisers may have applied pressure;

(2) Big financial creditors may have demanded it;

(3) Certain suppliers like paper companies, transport and utility companies that Hearst depends on could have applied pressure.

(4) There may have been subtle government pressure.

Whatever the cause, the outcome is obvious. The ruling class controls not only its directly owned 20%, but also the rest of the press that is nominally independent, in much the same way they control all of TV through the networks, though owning only 15 stations.

NEWS WEEKLIES - BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS

Along with TV and the newspapers, which influence all sections of the people, the ruling class employs a second tier of newsweeklies and business publications to win over the mass of intellectuals, managers and businessmen to their policies.

The two key newsweeklies are **Time** and **Newsweek** which control close to 90% of the circulation of that type of magazine. **Time** is owned by Time-Life Inc., which is controlled by the big Rockefeller banks (Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, etc.). **Newsweek** is owned by the Washington **Post,** controlled, as we saw, by the Morgan group. Together with the New York **Times,** these magazines have the only weekly news summaries worth mentioning. These news summaries are important in that they point to trends and make analyses that the ruling class feels are important for the people to know. Thus, they sum up the "lessons" the rulers want us to draw from the daily news.

The pages of **Time** and **Newsweek** should never be confused with fact or actual trends. They instead represent the hopes and aspirations of U.S. imperialism. Thus, the fight of the working class for a shorter work week—the most significant domestic trend of the decade—is completely ignored, as is the fight against racist ideology on the campuses. The increasing isolation and defeat of U.S. imperialism abroad is likewise covered up and what defeats that **Time** and **Newsweek** can't ignore are distorted or presented as isolated instances. Typical of their distortions has been the handling of Nixon's wage freeze, which even by his own standards must be judged a cataclysmic failure—inflation is still rampant, unemployment no better, and the balance of payments even worse. Yet these magazines have consistently hailed the wage freeze as a success, which only indicates that the ruling class wants these anti-worker policies continued at all costs, and are attempting to brainwash the readers of **Time** and **Newsweek** to support these policies.

The mass of small, medium and large (but not imperialist) businessmen often see their interests differently than those of the imperialist ruling class with its wars and alliances, international trading and monetary policies, and its tax policies so favorable to big monopolies. Yet it is crucial to keep the "business community" in close support of the ruling class. The key business publications—Wall Street **Journal, Fortune** and **Business Week**—play a big role on this front. These publications consistently push for economic and business policies favorable to the big monopolies. For example, they pushed throughout the sixties for government and banking policies that facilitated the massive merger movement then that wiped out hundreds of thousands of smaller businesses. Earlier these periodicals played a key role in shifting the outlook of the "business community" from its traditional isolationism to an outward-looking imperialist position that only benefitted the big monopolies who were in a position to invest abroad.

Needless to say the ruling class keeps a tight rein on these business publications. Dow Jones Co., publisher of the most influential of these, the Wall Street **Journal**, is controlled by the Morgan and Rockefeller banks. Dow Jones also publishes **Barron's** for the financial and investment executives, and provides the major financial reporting service.

Fortune magazine, published by Rockefeller's Time-Life Inc., does the most serious economic and business research. Its editorials on economic policy represent the clearest indication of what the bankers want. Thus, **Fortune** outlined what was to be the wage freeze some time before it was put into effect.

Business Week, published by the McGraw Hill Co., is controlled by the Rockefeller group. Naturally it closely follows the policies of the other Rockefeller business publications, **Fortune** and the Wall Street **Journal.** Heavily dependent on corporate advertising as are all the McGraw-Hill publications, **Business Week** is more cautious editorially and generally more shallow than its two "competitors." Nevertheless, it is very influential in the "business community" and has always used that influence to push ruling class business policies. McGraw-Hill also publishes several "trade" publications that are pre-eminent in their field—**Aviation Week** and **Chemical Engineering.** These are important in influencing the many engineers and managers who read them.

The handful of financiers who run the media are not elected by the people. The media won't change to suit the legitimate interests of the people, even if expressed in an election. The media will always reflect the interests of the ruling group of the

capitalist class. The present media must be destroyed, as part of a socialist revolution, in order to make any lasting revolutionary changes.

II. THE MASTERS OF WAR

PLP members are often asked if it is true, as we say, that the public leaders don't run the country, then who does? The answer we have given above. Take the financial companies listed in Table I, go through the biographies of the directors or partners (**Standard & Poor's** is a good source for this), find out which ones fit Domhoff's criteria for "upper class" and you will come up with a list of something around 1,000; add another 1,000 or so relatives in government, foundations or other professions, and you will have the real rulers of this country. The next question that can be legitimately asked is: If the Congress, Cabinet and National Security Council are impotent bodies, is there a body where these 2000 or so real rulers or some designated representatives thereof meet and formulate the policies of U.S. imperialism? Yes, there is such a body. It is called the **Council on Foreign Relations** (CFR).

GENESIS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

There was U.S. imperialism before there was a CFR, but it was a primitive catch-as-catch-can type, unable to compete in the same league with the more sophisticated British, who had an equivalent type organization for some time.

The last two decades of the 19th century were a period of unprecedented growth for the big trusts and monopolies. Fresh from the conquest of the South, the rape of the railroad lands, the liquidation of the Indians of the Plains, the monopolies were looking for new worlds to conquer. In the Carribean, the Cuban people were defeating the decadent Spanish empire. The same was happening in the Philippines. Under the circumstances, it was easy for some key monopolies to buy off two New York newspapers: have them raise a hue and cry for U.S. intervention; send a few U.S. battleships to the area and steal the fruits of the Cuban and Filipino people's victories.

Following the Spanish-American war, Rockefeller expanded his oil companies to the Far East, the Boston group was grabbing what it could in the Carribean and J.P. Morgan was expanding his trusts as far as the more powerful British would let him. Then came World War I and J.P. Morgan stood to make a fortune bankrolling the British from his neutral territory. But the Russian Revolution soon made it clear that Russia would drop out of the war and all of a sudden it seemed that J.P. Morgan might not collect on his investments. Once again Morgan cranked up his scandal sheets to demand U.S. intervention, and Morgan's friend in the White House, Woodrow Wilson, "acquiesced" to this fake public pressure.

The end of World War I saw the U.S. as the most powerful imperialist power in the world. The other "allies" were worn out and Germany was prostrate. The key monopoly groups greedily drew up plans to take advantage of the situation. Rockefeller had his eye on the Rumanian oil fields and the new fields opening up in the Middle-East. Morgan was going to make a killing on the war debt and invest it in Europe. Mellon was going to get a piece of the oil action. The Boston group was going to replace the British and Germans in South America. Naturally a U.S. government permanently committed to armed intervention to protect imperialist property was a **sine qua non** of these plans. The League of Nations was to be the cover.

Just to show you that the bad guys don't always get their way, things didn't work out the way it was hoped. Workers, farmers and even the overwhelming majority of capitalists (the latter, though, for radically different reasons) were so disgusted at the way World War I turned out that they would have none of it. The League of Nations was rejected; Wilson's brand of interventionism was turned out of office.

Nevertheless, most of what the key monopoly groups wanted they took anyway, and the U.S. government sent the marines to a dozen places to make the world safe for their investments. Yet, the defeat of the League of Nations taught the imperialists a lesson. They needed a much more planned approach; they needed to guarantee control of the state apparatus from the lesser capitalists; they needed an organization to get themselves together. The catch-as-catch-can phase of U.S. imperialism was over; the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) was born.

FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CFR

The chief foreign policy "advisor" to Woodrow Wilson was a wealthy aristocrat named "Colonel" House. He was the link to the New York banking interests that had put Wilson in office. At a Paris hotel in 1919, House gathered a small group of ruling class intellectuals, some of whom later became famous (John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, Christian Herter) and agreed to form an organization to serve as the political general staff of U.S. imperialism.

In the U.S. the group became incorporated in 1921 as the Council on Foreign Relations. Besides the Dulles brothers, who represented the main Wall Street law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, and Herter, representing the Boston group of financiers, founders included John D. Rockefeller and Nelson Aldrich of the Rockefeller group; J.P. Morgan, Averell Harriman of Brown Bros., Harriman; Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Coel Inc. and Paul Warburg, head of the Federal Reserve System. All the key figures of the main imperialist financial cliques were the prime movers of the CFR. The Rockefeller Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation provided the funds, while Rockefeller provided the headquarters at 58 East 68th St. in New York.

It took a few years to establish its influence, but by the time Herbert Hoover, who was a mem-

ber, became president (1928) the CFR was established as the voice of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Shortly after the start of World War II, the CFR took upon itself the task of doing research and making recommendations for the State Department. The leaders of the CFR became the key figures in that department and CFR functionaries and academicians took over the day-to-day planning of U.S. war policy and the planning for the post-war imperialist power struggle. One of the CFR's crowning achievements was the U.N., for which they had planned over several years. Some 47 members of the CFR made up most of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. organizational meeting in San Francisco. The CFR expected to control the U.N. bureaucracy as they controlled the State Department, an expectation that was eventually achieved.

By 1945 the control of U.S. foreign policy was completely in the hands of the CFR, where it has remained to this day.

Before we look at how the CFR operates to control U.S. foreign policy, let's take a quick look at its membership and how it is controlled.

THE CFR TODAY

The membership of the CFR is limited to 1450 men (no women allowed, according to the by-laws), 725 of whom reside in New York City, 725 from the rest of the country. New members are selected by the CFR from a "long waiting list." Besides paying dues, and either being a member of the ruling class or an academician who has worked closely for a number of years with the ruling class, the one express condition of membership is contained in the second by-law:

> "It is an express condition of membership in the Council, to which condition every member accedes by virtue of his membership, that unless expressly stated by an Officer of the Council to the contrary, all proceedings at the Council's afternoon and dinner meetings as well as study and discussion groups are confidential; and any disclosure or publication of statements made at such meetings or attribution to the Council of information, even though otherwise available, is contrary to the best interests of the Council and may be regarded by the Board of Directors in its sole discretion as ground for termination or suspension of membership pursuant to Article I of the By-Laws."

It is essential to preserve the myth that the elected government and not the CFR makes the key decisions. Disclosure of the secret proceedings of the CFR would prejudice that myth. Thus, violation of the CFR's secrecy is the only crime a member can commit.

The present head of the CFR is David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank and leader of the most powerful imperialist circle of corporations in the country. Other top leaders today, or in the recent past include: John J. McCloy, Wall Street lawyer, former chairman of Chase Manhattan, now head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Allen Dulles of the number one Wall Street law firm, Sullivan & Cromwell, and founder, and for many years head, of the CIA; Grayson Kirk, lately president of Columbia University, director of Chase Manhattan, Con Edison, IBM, Mobil Oil and some others; Frank Altschul of the important Morgan Group holding company, General American Investors; Elliot V. Bell, director of Chase Manhattan, New York Life and Chemical Bank; Gabriel Hague, director of Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Brooklyn-Union Gas Company and others; George Ball, Under Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration, director of Standard Oil of California, leading public spokesman for the CFR; Henry Wriston, president of Brown University; Theodore Gates, head of Morgan Guaranty Trust, director of General Electric, Scott Paper Co., Campbell Soup, Secretary of Defense in the Eisenhower Administration.

An examination of CFR's membership list indicates there are three categories of members. The first two are from the ruling class; the third consists of specialists distinguished by long service to the ruling class who provide the necessary "expertise" for CFR decisions.

The largest category of members is made up of the most powerful directors, of the financial corporations that run the country, interested in international affairs; with a large sprinkling of heads of key industrial corporations. The key figures in the Morgan group are the most heavily represented: We count as CFR members all directors of Morgan Guaranty Trust, nine directors of U.S. Trust Co., five directors of Banker's Trust, four directors of Tri-Continental holding company, four directors of Lehman Bros. investment company, four directors of Brown Bros. Harriman and two directors of Marine Midland Banks. The top dogs of the Rockefeller clique are almost as heavily represented: We count as CFR members 13 directors of First National City Bank, eight directors of Chase Manhattan, three partners of Dillon, Read Investment and two directors of the Chemical Bank. The Boston group has five directors from First National Bank of Boston, three from John Hancock Mutual and two from other Boston banks, as CFR members. Manufacturer's Hanover Trust has three directors in the CFR, Mellon National Bank has two directors in it and the Bank of America has two. In addition, the following corporations have at least two directors (some have upward of a half dozen) as members of the CFR: Prudential Insurance, Metropolitan Life, New York Life, Equitable Life, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Standard Oil of N.J., Standard Steel, Goodyear, General Electric, IBM, General Dynamics, NCR, Corning Glass, Union Carbide, Continental Can, H.J. Henry, AT&T, IT&T, New York **Times.** (This is just a partial list.)

The second category of members is made up of those members of the ruling class who are not

directly involved in finance or corporate affairs, but take up other work essential to the ruling class. Included in this group are the half dozen ruling-class senators (Church, D-Idaho, Pell, D-R.I., Javits, R-N.Y., Symington, D-Mo., Case, R-N.J.). Also the presidents of half a dozen of the key universities like Harvard, Yale, Brown, Columbia, Princeton, MIT and the University of California. But mostly this category is made up of ruling-class figures who work in the government or foundations at various levels.

For instance, CFR members of this type from the Rockefeller group include Nelson Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller III, Winthrop Aldrich, and Lewis Strauss from the Morgan group; people like Averell Harriman, John Lindsay, John Hay Whitney; from the Boston group types like Henry Cabot Lodge, Christian Herter, General James Gavin.

The third category is made up of the well-known "scholars" who have sold themselves to the ruling class. These are the scholar-prostitutes who provide the expertise for various study and discussion groups of the CFR. Some of the better known of this type are characters like: Doak Barnet, Arthur Schlesinger, Adolph Berle, Teller, Oppenheimer, Seaborg and columnists like Reston, Kraft and Baldwin.

The CFR has been financed from its birth by the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundation. In addition, it receives gifts from David Rockefeller and other millionaires. Over 100 corporations subscribe to its "corporation service" at $1000 to $10,000 a year. As can be expected, the CFR never lacked for money.

While there is a sprinkling of ruling-class members from all groups, the vast majority of key figures and the membership itself is predominantly from the Morgan, Rockefeller and Boston groups. As in the case of the mass media, the Morgan and Rockefeller groups are clearly in command of the CFR.

HOW THE CFR OPERATES

The CFR has usually around 100 meetings a year; half of them are general meetings addressed by some visiting foreign potentate, U.S. government official or CFR staff member. The other half are round-table discussions. Both types of meetings leave ample time for CFR members to discuss issues, raise their questions and express their views to those in a position to carry them out. Virtually any prominent foreign visitor to the U.S. seeks a chance to address a CFR meeting, for here is a chance for leaders of other imperialist powers or "developing nations" to present their views to those in authority in the U.S. A chance to address Congress, on the other hand, is regarded as purely ceremonial and for public consumption. The CFR on its part, has a chance to size up some of these people with whom it may have to deal.

In 1963-64, for example, the CFR held 112 meetings; 13 were dinner meetings; 50 were round table discussions and 49 were general meetings which were addressed by four prime-ministers, two kings, five foreign ministers, two finance ministers, two leaders of African "National Liberation Fronts," a number of corporate heads, deputies, military chiefs and ministers from many countries around the world.

In addition, key administration officials such as Allen Dulles, CIA head, addressed some meetings. That was the year of Vietnam "special war" and topics on Vietnam were given high priority by the CFR. William Bundy talked on "U.S. Policy in the Far East"; two Vietnamese puppet officials were invited to present their views; Roger Hilsman, the State Dept. official responsible for Vietnam, headed up two round table discussions on Vietnam as did the U.S. "ambassador" to South Vietnam. Probably it was at these secret meetings that the decision was made to manufacture the Gulf of Tonkin incident and begin the air war over North Vietnam.

More important than the general meetings are the discussion groups. The CFR staff each year picks 10 subject areas, some geographical, some functional, and then organizes discussion groups around them. These discussion groups are composed of 20 to 25 CFR members who meet regularly, do background reading and research and try to come up with some strategic or tactical decisions for the ruling class. As the CFR tactfully puts it: "Specific suggestions are brought to the attention of those who might find them useful."

Eventually some discussion groups evolve into study groups that help a "scholar" write a book.

Thus in 1957-58 Henry Kissinger was in a CFR study group that helped him write his influential **Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy.** His "study group" included two former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), a Nobel Prize winner in physics, two assistant secretaries of Defense, representatives just below the highest level from the State Department, the CIA, and the three armed services. Percy Bidwell wrote a book on tariff policy at the time of the "Kennedy Round" of international tariff negotiations; his study group included 10 corporate heads, 10 economists, two communications experts from MIT and two government officials.

In addition, the CFR usually has two long-range projects going that each involve 10 or 15 more study groups. In the mid-sixties the two CFR projects were on the "Atlantic Community," or what to do about the Western European imperialists who were shaking off U.S. hegemony; and on "U.S.-China Relations" (Here, undoubtedly, Kissinger and others planned the rapproachment between the U.S. imperialists and the new "red" bourgeoisie of China that was to come to fruition after the defeat of the Cultural Revolution.)

It is within these CFR study and discussion groups that members of the ruling class evolve the strategy and tactics of U.S. imperialism. When they reach a decision, they can bring it "to the attention of those who might find (it) useful." Or they may publish a book or an article in the CFR's journal **Foreign Affairs** that instantly is acclaimed to be "influential" by the mass media. Or in most cases, some of the members of the study group get themselves appointed to government positions where they can carry out the decisions of the group. (We will examine CFR control of the government more closely below.)

The CFR's corporate service is another means of influencing policy. Those corporations that pay the subscription fee, which is almost all the major international ones, get several services including use of the library, free consultation with staff members, some subs to **Foreign Affairs.** More important, the executives of these imperialist corporations attend bi-annual seminars run by the CFR. These seminars include five meetings and roundtable discussions with background reading and secret reports. This is a good means of training rising corporate executives in the larger issues of U.S. imperialism. And most important, the chairmen of these 100 to 200 corporations are brought together once a year for an "off-the-record" dinner meeting. This is another way the CFR acts as a general staff of U.S. imperialism.

Finally, the CFR has organized 30 satellite Committees on Foreign Relations in various cities from Portland, Maine to Los Angeles, from Worcester to Alburquerque. These committees are financed by the Carnegie Corporation. Each committee is composed of forty or more men (total membership is 1800) who come together for private dinner meetings to hear a speaker supplied by the CFR. Over half of these committee members are either corporate executives, bankers or lawyers who are also corporate directors —half of the others are college presidents, deans and ruling class-oriented professors. The rest are mainly lawyers, editors and publishers.

These committees provide a base of support for the CFR in local "business communities" around the country. And the CFR sends its speakers to these meetings to generate support for the policies it worked out in New York and is in the process of carrying out in Washington.

CFR AND THE GOVERNMENT

Thus, the CFR formulates the strategy and tactics of U.S. foreign policy. As we noted, they put these decisions into practice in three ways:

(1) Bringing their ideas to the attention of those in government. Thus, during the Mid-East six-day war in 1967, David Rockefeller visited President Johnson and informed him as to the CFR's feelings on what U.S. government policy should be. This meeting managed to get into the press; hundreds of similar meetings at all levels between CFR officials and government officials never are noticed. The CFR uses this method only in crises or emergencies, preferring the next two methods, generally.

(2) In the case of more long-range strategic decisions, books or articles are published and the mass media begins a carefully orchestrated campaign to bring attention to the book or article.

(3) But for the most part the CFR prefers to plant its own men in the government at key policy-making levels and then have them carry out decisions of the group. The CFR apparently does not feel having a member as President is crucial here (although Eisenhower and Kennedy were members, as were presidential candidates Thomas Dewey and Adlai Stevenson.) This is so possibly because the President is much more of a public figurehead than a man really involved in policy decisions, possibly because once a man becomes President his usefulness to the CFR is limited to his term of office, whereas most CFR operatives in the government move in and out of various high-level positions in the bureaucracy for 10, 20 years or more, and quite possibly because most aristocratic CFR members don't care to have the kind of publicity about themselves and their families —and more important their business affairs—that the Kennedys, for example, have exposed themselves to. (The Kennedys seem to like it.)

At any rate, the President, even if he does take part in some decisions, is at the mercy of his CFR advisors who provide him with the information, frame of reference and alternatives. All of this has already been deliberated and thought out by the CFR, and public opinion on this or that alternative is "expressed" by the media. These foreign policy or national security advisors are the real executive. No need even to mention Congress, as the Congress plays absolutely no role in foreign policy or "defense" policy except to provide an occasional public circus like Full-

bright's periodic hearings.

Table IV lists 25 of the more prominent members of the CFR who hold, or have held, important posts in the Nixon Administration. This is just a partial list; actually we have identified 110 CFR members who hold or have held key policy-making positions in the Nixon Administration. These include several of the most influential corporate leaders, like the heads of Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil, Morgan Guaranty Trust, who served in various "advisory" commissions. These "blue ribbon panels" which formalize long-range strategic directions are often almost a carbon copy of a CFR study group that preceded it and often do little more than ratify the decision of the CFR study group that gave birth to it.

Table V lists 25 of the more prominent members of the CFR who held key posts in the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. Once again it is a partial list; there were many more. Moreover. one can note that three names are the same on both lists. Actually there were 15 more CFR men who held high-level policy-making positions in the Kennedy-Johnson administrations and then moved over to the Nixon administration, sometimes not even changing their titles. One example is C. Douglas Dillon of the big Rockefeller-allied Investment Company, Dillon, Read & Co. Dillon was Secretary of State "under" Eisenhower, Secretary of the Treasury "under" Kennedy and is now on the General Advising Committee of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency "under" Nixon. John J. McCloy, at one point president of the CFR has "served" in every administration since Roosevelt.

Take any of the "influential" advisors" to the presidents since World War II and you will find they were CFR men. Who were the key advisors to Roosevelt-Truman administrations? Most historians would name Hamilton F. Armstrong, Dean Acheson, Edward Stettinus, John J. McCloy, Robert Lovett—all were members of the CFR and both Armstrong and McCloy headed up the organization at different times.

Who were the decision-makers in the Eisenhower era? Consensus says it was John F. Dulles, Allen Dulles, Christian Herter, Neil McElroy, Thomas Gates and C. Douglass Dillon—all CFR members.

And in the Kennedy-Johnson years wasn't it Rusk, the Bundy brothers, General Maxwell Taylor, Ellsworth Bunker, George Ball, Roswell Gilpatric and Walt Rostow, who made the foreign policies? Once gain all CFR men. And today it is Kissinger and Nelson Rockefeller who call the shots—Kissinger was a top member of the CFR staff for over 15 years.

CFR AND THE MASS MEDIA

The CFR and the mass media interlock in a couple of ways, the most important of which is the fact that the same Morgan-Rockefeller bankers who control the mass media also have the dominant influence in the CFR.

Moreover many of the key media men are members of the CFR. This includes the publisher of the New York **Times,** and several of his most "influential" columnists, the chairman of the Washington **Post,** the chairman of the Los Angeles **Times.** Also members of the CFR are top directors, editors or chairmen of the Louisville **Courier-Journal,** Denver **Post,** New York **Post, Christian Science Monitor, Saturday Review of Literature, Time, Newsweek, Business Week** as well as the three networks and NET, among others.

This interlock, as well as the CFR's secrecy rule, explains why the CFR is hardly ever mentioned in the mass media. Moreover, this large interlock is useful in rapidly attempting to mould public opinion along lines decided at a CFR meeting or study group. This is especially important when the CFR decides to embark on a quick adventure for which it hadn't the chance to prepare public opinion—for example, in the contrived Cuban missle crisis of 1962.

Thus, the unreachable, unapproachable, "unelectable" gentry in the CFR have completely controlled the government's diplomatic and war policies for over 30 years. It's all very undemocratic, especially for men who claim to send us to war to "defend democracy."

III. GENERAL STAFF OF U.S. MONOPOLY CAPITAL

This group is in essence no different than the preceding one. Many of the faces are the same. The class is the same and the big banks are the same. Yet the ruling class has a couple of different organizations to set policy in domestic affairs. Each of these organizations has a slightly different focus, but they operate in the same way as the CFR. Certain key figures in the ruling class sit down in closed session, come up with a decision of a strategic or tactical nature and then see that it is implemented by more or less the same means as the CFR.

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Committee for Economic Development (CED) is the key organization of the ruling class for developing a common **economic** strategy. It supplements and closely parallels the CFR which develops the military and diplomatic strategy for the ruling class. Naturally there are some policies that both organizations develop in co-operation. For example, the Marshall Plan was developed by the CFR and the CED to pave the way for a massive invasion of U.S. capital into weakened post-war Europe; this was done in the guise of "stopping communism," but had the beneficial side effect (for the ruling class) of forcing out pro-Soviet politicians in several countries and weakening the European labor movement. Both the CFR and the CED developed the Plan, the CFR concentrating on the diplomatic and anti-communist aspects, the CED on easing the way for U.S. corporations to penetrate the European

excerpt taken from:
COFFEE, THE RULES OF THE GAME, AND YOU
by Thomas Fenton

The Financial Assistance Dollar

How is the "foreign aid" dollar spent?

"The biggest single misconception about the foreign aid program is that we send money abroad. We don't. Foreign aid consists of American equipment, raw materials, expert services, and food — all provided for specific development projects which we ourselves review and approve. . . . Ninety-three per cent of AID funds are spent directly in the United States to pay for these things. Just last year (1967) some 4,000 American firms in 50 states received $1.3 billion in AID funds for products supplied as part of the foreign aid program."

In effect, "development assistance" is a subsidy to U.S. industries, exporters and shippers.

Of "security assistance," most of this never leaves our country either. Furthermore, the U.S., like many other nations, uses military aid to further its own political objectives. It is used to maintain a status quo that strengthens the position of privileged minorities and provides a "safe climate" for outside business interests.

DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1972

Nixon: Hanoi Will Get Aid

By STAN CARTER

Washington, Nov. 9 (NEWS Bureau)—President Nixon confirmed in an interview, published today, that the United States would provide "some" economic assistance to North Vietnam after the war.

The President gave no figures but administration officials have talked about a proposed $7.5 billion American reconstruction program for Indochina—$2.5 billion of it for North Vietnam—over a five-year-period.

Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger said Oct. 26 that the tentative peace agreement between Washington and Hanoi included a provision "in which the United States expresses its view that it will in the postwar period contribute to the reconstruction of Indochina."

It was assumed at the time that this meant U.S. aid to North Vietnam as well as South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Nixon clarified the Kissinger statement in an interview with the Washington Star-News.

The President gave this view of the immediate future of Southeast Asia:

"Well, it will have to be a future in which we continue to provide economic assistance, and some military assistance as well, to our friends in that area, because the Communist nations are going to provide the same kind of assistance to North Vietnam.

"We will, as we have said, provide some assistance also to North Vietnam on an economic basis. Our interest is not only to bring an agreement that ends the war now, but to have an influence on the events in the future, and it is much better to have a relationship with the North Vietnamese than not to have.

Before the vague Oct. 26 indication that economic aid was part of the peace agreement, it was known that the United States had made a large aid offer to the North Vietnamese. Kissinger said last Jan. 26 that the United States had made clear in previous secret negotiations that it would not pay "reparations" but could voluntarily undertake "a massive reconstruction program for all of Indochina in which North Vietnam could share to the extent of several billion dollars."

Nixon added: "Let me tell you this on Vietnam—when I tell you I am completely confident that we are going to have a settlement, you can bank on it."

The President also said in the wide-ranging interview, that next year "will be a very busy one" in foreign policy.

economy.

Generally, however, the CED and the CFR work on different issues. There is no conflict; the class in charge is the same. Moreover, 49 of the 274 CED trustees are also members of the CFR. (The others could, if they wanted, join the CFR, we can assume, but it takes quite a bit of time and energy to be on two ruling class decision-making bodies plus run a big corporation or a bank. So most members of the ruling class pick either the CFR, the CED, the Business Council or one of the key Foundations, depending on whether their interests concern mainly imperialist policy, economic policy, business policy or cultural affairs.)

The same corporate institutions, however, dominate the CED. Just as in the CFR, the Morgan and Rockefeller banks in New York have first place in naming trustees of the CED. Chase Manhattan directors account for 12 trustees; altogether the six Rockefeller financial giants account for 25 of the CED's trustees. (See Table VI.) The Morgan group is a close second with 20 trustees. Unlike the CFR, however, the other monopoly capital groups account for a bigger slot of the remaining bankers on the CED.

In the CFR, as we saw, except for the Boston group, the remaining monopoly capital groups had only token membership. In the CED, however, crews like the Bank of America group, the Mellon group and the Chicago group have an important slice of the trustees (although nowhere near as many as the Rockefeller or Morgan groups) and chairmen of certain large but independent regional banks such as Valley National Bank (Phoenix), Seattle First National and Wachovia Bank and Trust (North Carolina) are represented.

The reason for the difference lies in the different focus of the two organizations. Since almost all of the main imperialist corporations are controlled by the Morgan, Rockefeller and Boston groups, these three groups dominate the CFR. But the CED, which sets domestic policy, must contain representatives of corporations which operate mainly internally as well as the big imperialist ones. Thus, all the main monopoly capitalist groups are represented in the CED.

In another respect, however, the CED is even more exclusive than the CFR. Unlike the CFR, which has a significant portion of its membership made up of prostituted ruling class "scholars," the CED is almost entirely made up of chairmen and presidents of the big monopolies, both the imperialist types and the mainly domestic types.

Chairmen or presidents of the following corporations are trustees of the CED: Wells Fargo Bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, First National Bank of Chicago, Bank of America, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors, IBM, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Inland Steel, General Electric, Westinghouse, McDonnell-Douglas, United Fruit, AT&T, Continental Can, American Can, Scott Paper, Crown Zellerbach, Parker Pen, Oscar Meyer Weiners, Borden, General Foods, Levi Strauss, Macys, A&P, Los Angeles **Times,** Washington **Post,** etc. This is just a sampling of the 137 corporate chairmen and presidents we found among the 274 CED trustees.

The Research and Policy Committee of the CED, made up of 50 of the trustees, presently chaired by a top dog in Standard Oil (N.J.), hires a Research Advisory Board of 15 ruling-class economists, and business school Deans from the most "prestigious" universities (five of them from Harvard) and issues policy statements on long-range strategic policies of the ruling class. The mass media picks up on this and begins a campaign to implement the CED proposals. The CED also has study groups and discussion groups which then decide policy and either go into the administration to implement them or bring their suggestions to "those who might find them useful." We will see examples of this below. Like the CFR, the CED is funded by the main ruling-class foundations or directly by the big corporations involved.

HISTORY OF THE CED

The CED was founded in 1942 by a group of bankers, businessmen and "advisors" to Roosevelt. The Business Advisory Council (BAC), which we will examine below, played a big role in the birth of the CED. Paul G. Hoffman, then president of Studebaker, was the founder and headed up the CED until 1948. Hoffman, a long-time member of the CFR has had a long career in various positions for his class. After chairing the CED during its first six years, he moved into various "advisor" roles, first for Truman, then for Eisenhower; later he became head of the Ford Foundation, and today he is the administrator for the U.N. Development Program. (His career is typical of ruling-class CFR and CED members, moving in and out of top positions in various banks, corporations, foundations, government administrations and even the U.N. bureaucracy.)

Hoffman was assisted in bringing the CED to fruition by people like William Benton (CFR) a Madison Avenue executive, Ralph Flanders (CFR) a Boston banker and later ruling-class spokesmen in the Senate, Thomas McCabe (CFR) of Scott Paper Co. and Henry Luce (CFR) of Time-Life. Marian Folsom of Eastman Kodak, a chief of BAC, was decisive in seeing that the Roosevelt Administration saw the significance of CED and got rid of its own National Resources Planning Board whose functions were taken over by the CED.

The first job of CED was planning the post-war economy to avoid an immediate depression and place U.S. corporations in an economic position to expand rapidly abroad behind the imperialist army. Some 3000 local committees with 50,000 businessmen were set up to mobilize the "business community" toward that end. At the end of the war, having largely achieved its aims, the CED dissolved the local committees but kept the central organization. Thus today the CED has no "members"—only 274 trustees; we will use members and trustees of the CED interchange-

Heroic Korean workers' army inflicted first big defeat on an invading U.S. imperialist army, 1950.

ably.

In the early post-war period, the CED:

(1) Developed and staffed the Marshall Plan, as we saw;

(2) Took an extensive look at the functions of the Federal Reserve System to make it more useful to the big bankers and independent of political pressure from smaller capitalists. Thomas McCabe, CED founder, became head of the Federal Reserve in 1948 and, in 1951, declared the system independent of any elected official;

(3) Developed a policy, under the phony labels of "full employment" or "anti-inflation," for the government **not** to retire its huge war debt but to double or treble the debt, thus amassing a huge fortune for the New York wholesale banks and a handful of securities dealers. This was carried out by the government as the CED had ordered;

(4) Designed the Bretton Woods Agreement, an international monetary arrangement, which established for the time being U.S. imperialist hegemony in the capitalist world. This lasted until 1971.

(5) Mobilized the "business community" in moral and material support of the U.S. war of aggression against Korea;

(6) When Eisenhower (himself a CED member) took office he saw to it that the Treasury Department was completely staffed with CED members. Before taking office, a group of eight CED members, including later Chase Manhattan and Morgan Guaranty Trust directors, met with "Ike" and presented "five critical requirements" for the better use of the Federal government in the service of monopoly capital. These were of a tactical nature, not historically important. (See Karl Schriftgresser, **Business Comes of Age.**) What is important is that these "requirements" of the CED were speedily carried out;

(7) From 1942 to 1957, altogether 38 of the then 150 CED trustees "served" in the Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower administrations.

Since then the CED has set the tone for U.S. monopoly capital, deciding all strategic economic policies and a number of tactical ones as well. An example of a recent tactical decision was CED's campaign for a new method of federal budgeting during Johnson's administration. A CED group first proposed this. Then David Kennedy, CED member and head of Continental Illinois Bank and Trust, got appointed by LBJ as head of a special commission on the budget; six other CED men were on the commission. His proposals were incorporated in the 1968 budget. And just to make sure they stuck, Kennedy made himself Secretary of the Treasury "under" Nixon. He stayed long enough to see that the CED's proposals were enforced, and then quit.

Of a more strategic nature, the CED has been pushing for metropolitan-type governments to replace state and city governments which are too inefficient from the point of view of monopoly capital. Various Metropolitan Transit Authorities (like BART in San Francisco) are the first results of this push by the CED. This idea of the CED has been carried out more fully in Toronto

than elsewhere, now being touted as a successful example. (Recently **Business Week** ran a big article on Toronto and CED's push for metropolitan government, claiming that Toronto has "eliminated" crime, urban sprawl, pollution, etc. All it took was the CED's "magic formula" of metropolitan government.)

The CED sees this as one of its more long-range goals. More immediately it is pushing for welfare "reform." Nixon's "Family Assistance Plan" bears a striking resemblance to the CED program except that the CED demands that mothers of children over two (instead of six) accept slave labor and includes a national program for day-care centers and so-called family planning. These are gradually being implemented anyway by the federal bureaucracy and local governments.

While day-care centers could be good things, the point of the whole CED-Nixon welfare reform is the "requirement to work." This means that millions of welfare recipients will be forced to get jobs **at any wage.** Note that the "benefits" stop at $4000 a year. The CED plan is geared to depress wages down to $2.00/hour by providing a large pool of strike-breakers and unemployed who will have to break unions and work docile lyon the job or be denied all welfare benefits, even to their kids. Under the CED plan, a milder version of which just passed Congress, all mothers of children over two years old will have to submit or see their kids starve.

BUSINESS COUNCIL

The Business Council (BC) is yet a third committee of the ruling class organized to run the state. Once again there is no conflict with the CFR or CED. Many members of the BC are also members of the above two groups. Formed in 1933 as the Business Advisory Council (BAC) (the name was changed in 1961), by Sydney Weinberg of the powerful Goldman, Sachs investment company, the BC today appears to be more interested in the government's tactical decisions of an economic or commercial nature.

It is made up of 70 active members and a number of "graduates." As in the case of the CED and CFR, a disproportionate number of BC members are directors of the key Morgan-Rockefeller banks and their tightly controlled monopolies. At least four directors of Chase Manhattan and three from First National City Bank represent the Rockefeller group in the BC; the Morgan group, Mellon Bank, Bank of America and the rest of them are likewise represented.

Like the CED, membership in the BC is restricted to presidents, chairmen and top directors of big monopoly corporations. No small or medium businesses are represented at all and only two members, past or present, that we could find were connected with companies that were not substantially involved in imperialist investments. The big imperialist corporations had one or several directors as members of the BC. General Electric of the Morgan Group had nine directors in the BC. Westinghouse of the Mellon chain, had three, as did AT&T. (See Table VII for an idea of where the BC's membership comes from.)

The BAC's biggest accomplishment was the New Deal legislation. Virtually all the legislation of that period was worked out by the BAC and then handed to Roosevelt who presented it to Congress. The BAC then mobilized support for it in the mass media and among the "business Community." Many businessmen were opposed to the New Deal, feeling it was "creeping socialism" or that it contained too many concessions to the working class. The imperialist corporate heads, however, were not fooled about the nature of the New Deal; they knew a few concessions to the workers at a time of high tide in the class struggle were necessary to preserve the capitalist system. Moreover, they were skillful in designing the reform legislation demanded by the workers in such a way that it enriched the big financiers and enabled the big businesses to gobble up the small.

Social Security was a case in point. Long fought for by the workers, who were left to starve in their old age or when disabled by the capitalists' callousness, demands for social security were reaching a crescendo in the thirties. Seeing it could be delayed no longer, the ruling class put forward legislation it had been preparing for just such an occasion.

The New Deal Social Security was designed to: (1) pay such miserly benefits to the workers that they still would be dependent on corporate pension plans; (2) make the workers pay; (3) enrich the bankers and bondholders. Nevertheless, because some businessmen could not see all the ins and outs of this ruling-class plan, they put pressure on their bought-and-paid-for Congressmen to oppose the plan. The BAC went into action immediately, sending a committee of top monopolists, headed by the chairman of G.E., to visit Roosevelt in order to give him the backbone to fight for the BAC's Social Security plan. Roosevelt obsequiously followed the BAC's wishes, and the Act was pushed through Congress.

A similar case arose in the fifties, when Senator Joe McCarthy started going ape over the ruling class's anti-communism crusade. The anti-communist crusade was initiated by the ruling class to cause the unions and prepare public opinion for the Cold War in the late forties. At that time they unleashed McCarthy and a dozen other gangsters to begin a campaign of fear, intimidation and character assassination But McCarthy went too far; he started attacking members of the ruling class. When he tried to humiliate Robert Stevens of Morgan Guaranty Trust, then Secretary of the Army and a member of the BAC, the BAC stepped in.

At a special meeting in May 1954, the BAC ordered the Eisenhower administration to muzzle McCarthy. Shortly thereafter, a motion of censure was introduced by Boston banker-Senator Ralph Flanders, CED leader and member of the BAC. Eisenhower insured its passage and McCarthy's

red-baiting career was ended.

Most of the BAC's history has been spent in deciding less controversial issues. As the "semi-official" advisor to the Commerce Department until 1961, the BAC actually ran the latter. A minor tiff developed in 1961, with Kennedy and his Commerce Secretary, Hodges, who sought to change the make-up of the BAC. The BAC refused to hear of it and the mass media began a campaign to discredit Hodges. Kennedy quickly turned full circle and hastened to make amends.

Then the BAC changed its name from the Business Advisory Council to the Business Council and arrangements were made for small committees of BC members to be assigned to advise a number of departments and regulatory agencies "unofficially" and to the White House itself. So the BC extended its influence far beyond the Commerce Department—these other areas of government had assumed more importance than the Commerce Dept. since 1933. The BC sees to it that the government conforms, in its day-to-day decisions, to the exact wishes of the big imperialist monopolies.

The big corporate heads who make up the BC meet six times a year. Four of these are one-day meetings in Washington. Two are longer seminars that take several days and are held in some plush resort. Like the CFR and the CED, the BC meetings are, of course, secret.

The Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and various trade organizations like the Iron and Steel Institute are not true ruling-class bodies. They are more akin to mass organizations of all businessmen, large or small, that perform a variety of services to business, some important. These organizations are usually under the leadership of the imperialist monopolies, although in the NAM a powerful minority of smaller non-imperialist businessmen often get the upper hand. Yet these bodies have no real hold on state power. Their political activity is restricted to lobbying in an impotent Congress for minor tactical advantages. They are more important in non-governmental activities, such as co-ordinated strike-breaking or price-fixing.

THE FOUNDATIONS

Thus, in secret meetings and conclaves in three distinct but tightly interlocked organizations, the ruling class decides the policies of the government at all levels. No matter whom the voters put into office, Republican or Democrat, liberal or conservative, the same men behind the scenes make all the decisions, responsible to no one but their tiny class of fellow patricians. Unknown to all but their family and business associates, these financiers and corporate heads are the real government. But, before we conclude, we should complete this survey by touching on the role of the foundations.

The ruling-class foundations and research institutions are the service centers of the ruling class. They help finance the CFR, CED and BC, play a big role in "cultural affairs," in research, and in intelligence gathering for the ruling class. One of the major roles of the foundations is to control through money grants or interlocking trustees, the most prestigious universities: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Cornell, Stanford, Univ. of California, Univ. of Michigan, U. of Chicago, Swarthmore, Johns Hopkins, Oberlin, MIT, Cal. Tech and a few others. These foundations and their interlocked universities try to set the educational and intellectual climate for the rest of the colleges and universities in the country.

Thus, it is not surprising that it was in precisely these universities that the new Nazi "theorists"—Jensen, Herrnstein et al—surfaced.

The Ford Foundation is the biggest, with over 3 1/2 billion dollars to throw around (tax-free, of course). The Ford Foundation passed out of the hands of the Ford family (although two Fords still sit on the board) about the time Ford Motor Co. fell into the hands of the Morgan-group bankers. (See Table VIII for breakdown of who the Ford Foundation trustees represent; it is apparent that the Rockefeller and Morgan interests are dominant here.)

Besides educational TV (see above), the Ford Foundation also controls Harvard's Russian Research Center, which provides consultants and lecturers to the State Department, the CIA and the Army War College. All told, the Ford Foundation invests some $40 million a year in support of various "international studies" at various universities in order to gather intelligence against other imperialists and to infiltrate foreign governments and international agencies. The Fund for the Advancement of Education, which for 17 years (1951-1967) had a profound effect on teacher training, graduate schools, training of school administrators and development of school curriculum all over the U.S., was set up and controlled by the Ford Foundation. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara is also run by the Ford Foundation. It helps to develop liberal "alternatives" to present ruling class policies. Various "community control" bureaucracies in a number of cities are likewise run by the Ford Foundation. There are many other institutions in the U.S. and dozens of foreign lands also run by the Ford Foundation, but that subject deserves treatment in a special article.

The Rockefeller Foundation is number two in assets, close to a billion dollars; it is still controlled by the Rockefeller family. Among other projects, the Rockefeller Foundation controls the Russian Research Center at Columbia, the Population Research Center at Harvard and the Lincoln Center in New York. And so it goes. The Carnegie Corporation with an equal number of Rockefeller and Morgan directors helped set up, and still finances, some of the universities and colleges. Moreover, many of the "professional associations" in the U.S. and Britain are tied to Carnegie money.

The RAND "think tank" does most of the

strategic military and diplomatic research and intelligence gathering for the ruling class and is largely controlled through the Carnegie Corporation; four of its trustees come from the Carnegie Corporation. The Alfred P. Sloan Fund—not as well-heeled as the others but very influential in college research in economics, business management and some fields of medicine—is controlled by the same interests, and has an equal number of trustees from the Rockefeller, Morgan and Boston groups.

These four are the "big four" in this field. (Table VIII gives a breakdown of where their trustees came from.) It is important to note how tightly they interlock with the CFR:

(1) In the Ford Foundation—10 of the 17 trustees are in the CFR.

(2) In the Rockefeller Foundation—13 of the 23 in the CFR.

(3) Carnegie Corporation—11 of the 16 in the CFR.

(4) Alfred P. Sloan Fund—12 of the 16 in the CFR.

There are a few other important foundations that have less money, but specialized interests that make them important. For example, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (18 of the 26 trustees in the CFR) with its two Chase Manhattan directors is a key force advancing the "cultural" interests of U.S. imperialism; and the Twentieth Century Fund (13 of its 20 trustees in the CFR) is big in developing "social" legislation.

The Brookings Institution is the most important of all the research institutions. It does research on some of the strategic policies of the ruling class, then publishes papers or makes the research available to the CFR or CED. This research is invaluable for the ruling class in deciding new policies. Some of the recent Brookings Papers are: (1) U.S. Policy in South-East Asia; (2) U.S. Policy Toward Europe; (3) India's Economic Future; (4) Wage Policy in the U.S.; (5) Federal Funds for Higher Education, etc.

The Congressional hearings are the circus for public consumption—the real investigative hearings are conducted beyond closed doors at Brookings. Brookings is tightly interlocked with the CFR (10 CFR members are trustees) and the CED (eight CED trustees are also trustees of Brookings), and is controlled by the same financial groups. (See Table VIII.)

The work of the foundations and the "think tanks," RAND and Brookings, complement the CFR, CED and BC. They help provide the research and intelligence-gathering necessary for policy decisions. They help control the cultural and ideological atmosphere at the universities where the mass media is not so strong. And they provide another link to the state structure; key staffers like Dean Rusk of the Rockefeller Foundation or Earl Butz (Nixon's Secretary of Agriculture) of Brookings are sent into the government to carry out ruling-class policies.

THE BUREAUCRATS

At the head of the government is supposedly—the President. But as we saw, the key men are the "advisors" who carry the decisions of the CFR, CED and BC to the government and see that they are carried out. Just below them are the top bureaucrats, the heads of the key departments, the chiefs of the regulatory agencies. Who are these men who carry out the decisions of the ruling class? We will take a quick sample of some of the top bureaucrats in the Nixon administrations, noting that it is the same type and for the most part the same faces, no matter who is President. There are four categories into which all these bureaucrats fit:

(1) Members of the ruling class, who have taken a key government post to carry out some policy they or their CFR study group are interested in. An example of this is John Richardson, Undersecretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, head of Radio Free Europe. Richardson is a member of the CFR and a partner in a New York investment banking firm. Another Undersecretary of State is from Kuhn, Loeb Investment Co. and also a CFR member. Two Under-secretaries of the Treasury came from Chase Manhattan, as did the first Assistant Secretary of Defense, David Packard; his successor Kenneth Rush was formerly head of Union Carbide, a director of Bankers Trust and a CFR member. The two top dogs in the Commerce Department were each partners in the two most important Cleveland law firms. And so on; there are more. (See Tables IV and V)

(2) Managers and executives in big corporations or ruling class financial companies who have so loyally served their masters that they are entrusted with some big government post to serve the whole ruling class. An example of this type is Peter Flanigan, Assistant to the President, who for many years was a hard-working flunkey in Dillon, Read & Co., the main Rockefeller investment company. Kliendienst, the Attorney-General, was for a number of years an underling in the Boston ruling-class law firm of Ropes & Gray. The Labor Secretary was a manager of Lockheed Aircraft; the Secretary of Interior "worked" for Pillsbury Co. Two of the Defense under-secretaries were top drawer errand-boys for IBM and Caterpillar Tractor, respectively (both big defense contractors).

(3) Least numerous and least influential are a half dozen or so politicians who so zealously advocated the interests of the ruling class in Congress or in local governments that they were finally entrusted to some measure of responsibility in the federal bureaucracy. Melvin Laird, Defense Secretary, is an example of this type, although he appears to be largely window dressing for the corporate chiefs who are assistants and under-secretaries in that department.

(4) Most numerous we find the professional bureaucrat as head of major departments. These

are the men who have worked for 15, 20 or 30 years in the bureaucracy, who have earned their promotions by impressing the "advisors" at the top by their sincere desire to serve the ruling class. Martin Hillenbrand, for example, Under-secretary of State for Europe, has been part of the State Department bureaucracy since 1939. He saw six presidents come and go, but he knows the "advisors" at the top are the same. The same is true for John Carlock, Under-secretary of the Treasury; he's been in the government bureaucracy since 1941. And there are many more of them, like faithful lap-dogs their only aim in life is to please their masters in the CFR or CED, no matter what administration is in office.

A word might be said here about the selection and development of the bureaucrat, since he makes up the majority of the government officials at the second level of power and almost all of the men at levels below that. Most high-level bureaucrats today began their careers during World War II, most likely in some capacity but dealing with the war effort; more than a few were in the OSS, the precursor of the CIA. Those who rose in rank during this period proved themselves able at attaining the aims of U.S. imperialism. Then came the selection process known as McCarthyism where literally thousands of their peers were kicked out or pressured into resigning for not being sufficiently anti-communist. Those who survived this weeding-out process helped administer the security checks and loyalty oaths to the newcomers into the bureaucracy in the fifties.

As the bureaucrat rose in rank, he became a boss, or a capitalist in his own right; first hiring and firing clerks and custodians, eventually in command of a governmental "enterprise" involving hundreds, maybe thousands of workers which had to show profitability, (remember McNamara's "cost accounting"), and often had to compete in the marketplace with other capitalists. The bureaucrat now becomes a capitalist manager, indistinguishable from a corporate executive. Finally to get to the position where he influences **policy**, say as an under-secretary of a department or a commissioner, the bureaucrat must do something to catch the eye of those on top, some especially valuable service to the ruling class or an extraordinarily zealous attitude in serving the aims of U.S. imperialism. By the time the bureaucrat finally "makes it," the rulers can have no doubt of his loyalty to them.

The regulatory agencies are run by commissioners who, once appointed, are beyond removal by the electorate or even any elected officials. This suits the ruling class perfectly since these regulatory agency commissioners are supposed to regulate business and if they had to run on their records or even if a president had to take responsibility for their records, even the mass media couldn't cover for them. The situation was admitted in a rare display of frankness by one of them who was naturally in a position to know, Judge Lee Loevinger, head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department, who said:

Unfortunately the history of every regulatory agency in the government is that it comes to represent the industry or groups that it is supposed to control. . . .More, the agency people consort with this or that representative of some special interest group, and finally they all come to think alike. Every company that's concerned about government control and is big enough hires a man—or maybe four or five men—at anywhere from $30,000 to $70,000 a year to find out what we're up to. And by God, they find out! They wine and dine the agency people and get to be great friends with them. Like a lot of people without much money, some bureaucrats are impressed being around big shots and the big life.

A recent case in point is James Needham, an SEC (Security Exchange Commission) commissioner who is supposed to regulate the stock market, i.e. protect the small fish from the big sharks on Wall Street. When the SEC staff proposed some minor regulation that would give some slight protection to the small investor on the matter of what the brokers were doing with the free credit balances, Needham took the side of the Stock Exchange and squelched the move. Wall Street rewarded him for this service and earlier ones by making him the new chairman of the New York Stock Exchange. The job is largely ceremonial, but for bureaucrat Needham, it means $300,000 a year; he was making "only" $38,000 as an SEC commissioner. This, of course, happens constantly and the lesson is not lost on the other bureaucrats.

This phenomenon is carried the furthest among the military where no less than 2,000 high-ranking officers leave the Pentagon each year for the greener pastures of corporate management. One investigation in 1963 found some 274 retired generals and admirals working for General Dynamics Co. alone. This is what makes the theories of some in the "Left" about a separate power center in the Pentagon so ridiculous. It's obvious that business rules the military, not vice versa.

WAGE-PRICE BOARDS

The recent wage-freeze price-rise has done nothing to halt inflation nor any other "good" thing it was supposed to do. But it **has** produced record profits for the ruling class. Why not? When workers' wages are frozen and prices rise at will, the result will be fabulous profits; the corporation reports for the second quarter of 1972 bear this out:

(1) Airlines reported 250% increase in profits in the second quarter; Western Airlines had an unbelievable 475% profit increase; TWA increased its profits by 206%.

(2) The auto industry made a record $1,217,500,000 in profits in the three-month period—a gain of 33%. Chrysler had an 118% profit increase since the period before the freeze. Ford had a 43% increase; GM a 28% increase. So far it appears GM's profits in 1972 will be nearly $3 billion! These are **declared** profits; real hidden profits which include interest, rent, new investments, expansion capital, stock options, etc.

are often twice as big.

(3) The big banks cashed in on the freeze as well: Chase Manhattan reported a 25% profit increase; First National City Bank's profits went up 26%; Morgan Guaranty Trust got a 24% profit increase and former Treasury Secretary Kennedy's bank, Continental Illinois Bank & Trust, found its profits up 66%.

(4) Virtually all other big monopolies found their profits spurting to a record—an annual rate of $52 billion—up 15% for all industries. Typical were Con Edison in New York—profits up 33%; Southern California Edison in Los Angeles—profits up 29%; B.F. Goodrich—profits up 46%; General Tire—profits up 53%; Levi-Strauss—profits up 47%; Caterpillar Tractor—profits up 55%; ABC—profits up 131%; CBS profits up 33%; IBM—profits up 22%; Anaconda profits up 132%, etc. (The percent increases compare the profits of the second quarter of 1972 with second quarter of 1971, just before the freeze.)

Who made up these wage and price boards that produced such fabulous profits for the ruling class, at a severe cost to the working class in unemployment, speed-up, and real wage cuts? The Pay Board, which freezes wages, abrogates contracts that workers won through strikes, was supposed to be made up of five members from labor; five from business and five from the "public." Only business got represented; labor was represented by five veteran sellouts, four of whom quit anyway; the so-called public members who had the "swing" were:

(1) Figurehead chairman, George Boldt. Longtime racist, anti-worker federal judge from Seattle, locally well-known for his persecution of the student anti-war movement.

(2) Real behind-the-scenes chairman, Kermit Gordon. Member of CFR and CED, longtime staff member for Brookings Institute, where the wage freeze had been carefully prepared some time ago to be sprung on the workers on just such an occasion.

(3) Caples, anti-labor negotiator for U.S. Steel.

(4) Weber, of the Ford Foundation.

(5) Jacoby, administrator at UCLA and U. of Chicago.

Rounding out the Pay Board we have:

(6) Leon McCollum, member of CED, director of Morgan Guaranty Trust, Continental Oil and some other corporations.

(7) Biaggini, member of BC, head of Southern Pacific.

(8) Day, head of General Electric.

(9) Sicilliano, director of one of Bank of America's financial satellites.

(10) Bassett, a magazine publisher.

(11) Fitzsimmons, the $100,000-a-year Teamster sellout artist.

And what about the Price Board that allows prices to rise out of sight?

(1) Figurehead Chairman, C.J. Grayson, business school dean and former FBI agent.

(2) Real Power, J.W. Newman, member of CED, director of Chemical Bank, Mutual Life of N.Y., General Foods, etc.

(3) Real Power, Lanzillotti, staff member of Brookings Institute who co-ordinates, with Kermit Gordon, the carrying out of this program that the Brookings Institute worked out some time previous.

(4) Real Power, William Scranton; member of

Philadelphia members of meatcutters and retail clerks unions have the answer for bosses' wage-freeze crusher.

CED, director of IBM, Scott Paper, etc.

(5) Real Power, J.W. Queenan; partner in the major Wall Street accounting firm, Haskins and Sells.

(6) Window Dressing, Marinar Whitman, professor at the U. of Pittsburgh, previous positions in the Nixon Administration.

(7) Window Dressing, W.T. Coleman, black lawyer, served in various capacities in the Nixon and Kennedy-Johnson administrations.

IV. STATE & REVOLUTION

Thus, in the wage-freeze board as well as in the government as a whole, a small select clique responsible to one of the ruling class' outside bodies really runs the show. The other bureaucrats go along, hoping one day, by loyal service, to be admitted to the inner circle or at least to get the big pay-off like Needham, formerly of the SEC, did. There are many more facets to this phenomenon and examples like Needham, but by now we think we have established fairly well who controls the state apparatus in America at this time.

The small ruling group that comes from the key financial corporations listed in Table I have **absolute authority over all governmental decisions.** They share this power with no one—not workers, not intellectuals, not the politicians, not the military, not even the lesser capitalists. Before we go on to draw the necessary conclusion from this, we want to generalize this point to other countries and other times, and say a few words about the difference between conspiracy and class rule.

We have made no study of the ruling class of other imperialist countries. Yet we feel that such a study would bear out the following conclusion. IN EVERY MAJOR CAPITALIST NATION, THE STATE STRUCTURE IS CONTROLLED BY A SMALL CLIQUE OF FINANCIERS, NO MATTER WHAT PERSONALITIES OR PARTIES APPEAR TO HEAD THE GOVERNMENT. THIS CLIQUE MEETS IN SECRET, IN CERTAIN SELF-PERPETUATING UNELECTED BODIES, TO THRASH OUT DECISIONS OF TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC NATURE THAT WILL BENEFIT THEIR CLASS. THESE POLICIES ARE THEN PUT INTO EFFECT BY THE GOVERNMENT.

To determine which bodies are the real ruling ones in each country would require another study. But we know in Great Britain there is a counterpart to the CFR called the Royal Institute of International Affairs; in fact the CFR was inspired by the latter's example. We would not be surprised to see the top British bankers well represented on that organization. In France the three big banks have been merged into the government. It is, perhaps, from that position that the top French financiers control their state structure. In Belgium the major bank, Societé Genèrale de Belgique, controls all the Belgian imperialist companies and the major monopolies; certain key figures in the state structure sit on the board. Probably it is on the board of this bank that the key decisions are made for the Belgian ruling class.

We believe this study could be made for any imperialist country and with any independent bourgeoisie. (The colonial nations are, of course, run from abroad; in Paraguay, for example, the counterpart to the CFR and CED is the U.S. Embassy, which makes all the decisions for the military dictatorship—the same is true for the Venezuelan "democracy." British, French and Soviet embassies play similar roles in other countries.)

DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S. STATE STRUCTURE

The war of independence against England was waged by a coalition of classes; farmers, landlords, small manufacturers, slaveowners and merchants. Yet, in the key states, New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, it was the rich mercantile families—who had built their fortune on the "triangular" trade in slaves, manufactured goods and farm products from the West Indies, England and the U.S.—who dominated. During the counter-revolution of 1781-1787 they struck a deal with the slave-owners to jointly control the Federal structure of the new government, but, when push came to shove, it was Hamilton, the New York merchant and banker, not Washington the Virginia slaveowner, who called the shots.

This set the tone for the early years; big financiers, big trading companies owned by the Hamiltons, Armstrongs and the Astors, etc., dominated the state structure of the new Republic from the beginning; the Bank of the United States was the first vehicle.

There were two serious threats to this domination in the 19th Century. The first came when, as a result of the drying up of the slave trade, the old merchant classes were weakened. This happened simultaneously with the rise of a class of manufacturers. The electoral victory of Andrew Jackson (1828) and the subsequent destruction of the Bank of the United States almost smashed the grip on the state structure held by the banker-merchants, but in the following years the old financial families moved into manufacturing, learned to live with, and get around, the banking restrictions of the Jacksonian era. Then the advent of railroads gave them a new source of enrichment. The second threat to their monopoly on state power was the armed revolt of the slaveowners in the Civil War; this was smashed and the South was opened up to the financial aristocracy.

The ruling class expanded in numbers somewhat in subsequent years as fortunes were made in the railroad land grabs, the new steel and oil industries, electric power, and imperialist expansion in the Carribean; new families were added. Yet, the old financial families were still in the thick of it, providing the money and the connections which set up the new industrial monopolies; the state structure remained firmly in their hands. From time to time an electoral or legislative

challenge to this monopoly on the state was launched by the non-monopoly sections of the manufacturing class (in the 1890's the Democratic Party of the William Jennings Bryan era was the vehicle) but when the ruling class regained control of that Party around the time of World War I, the non-monopoly manufacturers were in disarray, forming a third party for a time, then eventually moving into the Republican Party as the conservative-isolationist segment, perennially outmaneuvered by the "Eastern Establishment."

Today Barry Goldwater represents the opportunist wing of this class, willing to compromise with the ruling class. The John Birch Society is representative of the extremist wing of this class, the small, medium and semi-large manufacturers; deadly opposed to the ruling class on the one hand and to the working class on the other, they take an increasingly pessimistic view of their future as a class.

This short history outlines what we believe a detailed study would prove conclusively, that the U.S. state structure has always been in the hands of the banking aristocrats, whether they made their money financing the slave trade, speculating on the railroads, bankrolling the new steel and machinery industries or financing imperialist penetration abroad.

CONSPIRACY AND CLASS RULE

The ruling class has controlled the government for nearly 200 years, yet only in the last 50 has it had an organization like the CFR or CED to help in that task. Such organizations are not essential to class rule at all times. It is through control of the economy and the cultural apparatus that the ruling class rules. They define the ideological frame of reference for governmental leaders, venal or sincere. And, make no mistake about it, the Bureaucrats who believe what they are saying are more effective for the ruling class than the hypocrites. Thus, some of them really believed they were fighting for "freedom" in Vietnam or Korea; the trouble is these men have been brought up to think of "freedom" as meaning primarily freedom for U.S. monopolies to invest and collect their profit. When Eisenhower's Secretary of Defense said, "What's good for General Motors is good for America," he sincerely believed it, and so does the whole class of men that run the economy and control the state structure.

Thus, they organized the CFR and CED to control the state apparatus more **effectively**—but they would control the state structure **regardless.** The point is that we don't have a conspiracy of evil men (although they do conspire and do commit evil deeds), **but the rule of a class.** And that difference is important, because a conspiracy can be gotten rid of by ordinary methods, **but only the most thorough-going revolution can destroy a class.**

ELECTIONS AS A METHOD OF CHANGE

In the last few years a very large section of the mass movement against war, racism and social injustice has moved into the electoral arena. It is not true, as we once said, that "elections are playing to an empty house." Tens of thousands of anti-war activists and other socially-minded students and workers have worked hard and often effectively in the campaigns of Eugene McCarthy (1968), Bradley for mayor of Los Angeles, Lindsay for mayor of New York, the Berkeley Radical Coalition, and now McGovern for President; or for or against certain initiatives or referendums on a wide variety of issues from stopping high rises to fighting anti-labor laws. These campaigns have often been useful demonstrations of popular feeling. They have helped create an atmosphere helpful to fighting for reforms on a variety of issues.

Yet, these campaigns have failed to achieve even a tiny measure of power for the people. And this is not due solely to the bad character of the leaders. (In previous articles we have analyzed the hypocrisy, anti-people history and ruling-class connections of these electoral "stars." See, **Who Governs McGovern, PL** Vol. 8, #5; **Inside the McCarthy Campaign, PL** Vol. 8, #4; **The Great McCarthy Hoax, PL,** Vol. 8, #2; **The Bosses' 'Revolution', CHALLENGE,** Vol. 9, #7.)

The key question is that **power is never at stake in any election; the state structure is reliably in the hands of the ruling class.** Has not the bureaucracy been carefully selected and nurtured by the ruling class? Can the working class achieve power in the state structure manned by a bureaucracy permanently devoted to ruling-class values and conditioned to serving the CFR and the CED, not the elected officials? Wouldn't a revolutionary class have to discharge the army of bureaucrats that numbers in the hundreds of thousands? Would they just leave peacefully? And, if not, wouldn't this call for a revolution?

The same is true for the military apparatus; they would never serve another class anymore than old Rover would serve another master. Their military power will remain at the beck and call of the bankers at the CFR and we could hardly expect that these "old soldiers" would just quietly "fade away." They would resist and only an armed working class could overcome them. And the same goes for the mass media, as we said above. We are not even mentioning the tremendous economic power wielded by the big bankers who are entirely unaffected by a change in the elected government.

REVOLUTION, THE ONLY SOLUTION

We are saying that state power is **never a shared thing.** One class or the other controls the state apparatus and uses it as a tool against its opponents. And seizure of state power can never be accomplished through the legal framework controlled by the ruling class; seizure of state power can only be achieved through revolution. What we

The triumph of the Paris Commune, first workers' revolution. It's this kind of potential might that gives the ruling class fits.

are saying is not new. Communists have been saying it for 125 years. Real communists have always been dintinguished from the various phony "Leftists" precisely by the open acknowledgment of revolution. As Marx proclaimed, "We disdain to conceal our views..." Our aim can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the existing order. At the time of the Paris Commune, the first serious attempt of the working class to gain power, Marx wrote:

If you look up the last chapter of my Eighteenth Brumaire you will find that I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and this is the precondition for every real people's revolution on the continent." (Marx & Engels, Selected Correspondence)

He later wrote:

"One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for our purposes'....(Preface to Communist Manifesto)

Lenin developed these conclusions of Marx and much of his writing was devoted to refuting those "socialists" who pretended the workers could achieve power without armed revolution:

Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out under the yoke of the bourgeoisie under the yoke of wage-slavery, and that it should win power afterwards. This is the height of folly or hypocrisy. It is substituting voting under the old system and with the old power for class struggle and revolution. (Lenin, Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists)

He also wrote:

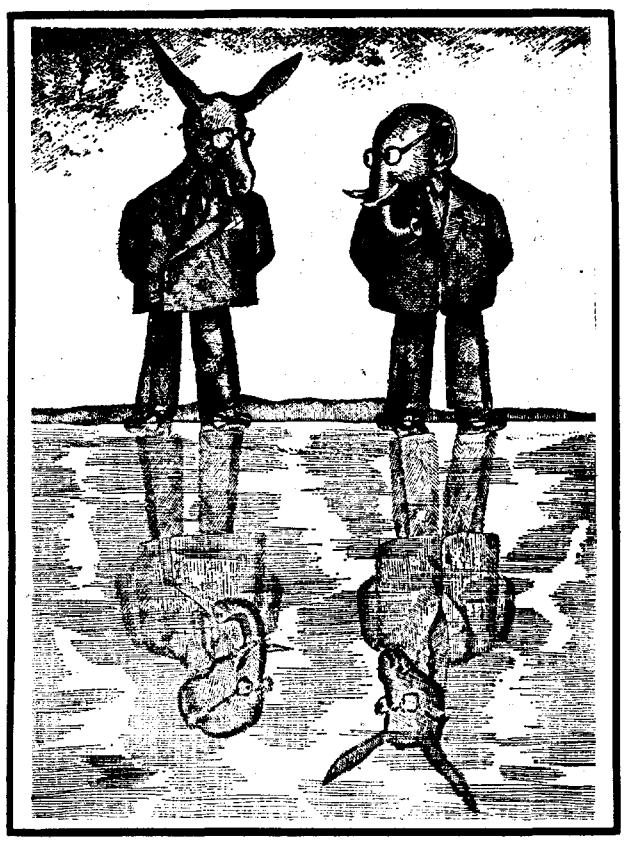
The point [of Revolution] is whether the old state machine bound by thousands of threads to the bourgeoisie [as we saw in this article] and permeated through and through with inertia shall remain or be destroyed and replaced by a new one. Revolution consists not in the new class commanding, governing with the aid of the old state machine, but in this class smashing this machine and commanding, governing with the aid of a new machine (State and Revolution)

These ideas of Marx and Lenin on the nature of the capitalist state and the necessity of revolution to achieve state power are at the core of Marxism-Leninism. To accomplish real meaningful and lasting changes, the working class must have the power—state power. And a change in state power means armed revolution. There is no other way.

SMASH THE MASTERS OF WAR

These are not abstract questions; they are questions of life and death for the people. As we are part of the people, very often it is a question of our lives and deaths.

During and since World War II, the CFR has sent over 350,000 American GIs to their graves in order to protect profits. The CFR has ordered



the murder in cold-blood of millions of people in Korea, Vietnam, China, Japan, Germany, the Mid-East and other areas; caused tremendous hardships for U.S. workers and workers in other countries, all in the pursuit of profitable places for investment.

It would take a book to list all the crimes the CFR-CED men plotted in their secret meetings and then ordered the government to carry out. A few examples here will have to do:

(1) Morgenthau, a member of the CFR in the government during World War II, put forward a plan calling for converting Germany into a permanent pastureland carved up in several zones controlled by outside imperialists. To that end he had the Air Force carry out the most devastating fire-bombings of urban centers known at that time.

(2) In order to promote its dream of an "American Century," as stated by CFR member Henry Luce, the CFR plotted a systematic campaign of atomic blackmail and terror. They ordered Truman to drop atom bombs on two Japanese cities, even though the Japanese had already offered to surrender. Then the CFR cranked up its propaganda machine to terrorize the world about the dangers of nuclear war. (Almost all the key figures in the decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki were members of the CFR.)

(3) The genocidal war in Vietnam was planned every step of the way by men of the CFR, undoubtedly reflecting decisions reached in their secret study groups. Allen Dulles, founder of the CFR and director of the CIA had thousands of agents in Laos and South Vietnam in the late fifties

and early sixties "advising" the puppet governments at every level on the murder and torture of communists, peasant leaders, student leaders, trade-unionists and even certain religious figures.

At the crucial point in the "special war" of 1962-1964, Henry Cabot Lodge of the CFR and the First National Bank of Boston was sent to Vietnam as the U.S. imperialist Viceroy, while CFR member Maxwell Taylor directed the military operations, which included burning of villages, napalming of women and children, assassination of NLF cadres, herding of Vietnamese peasants into concentration-camp-like "strategic hamlets." In Washington all the key decisions were made by CFR members George Ball, McGeorge Bundy, Roswell Gilpatric and Ford president, Robert McNamara—**not** Kennedy or Johnson. On NBC-TV recently, Ball, an officer in the CFR, boasted that he made the decision to depose Diem while Kennedy was vacationing in Hyannisport. This irrevocably led to the commitment of hundreds of thousands of U.S. ground troops (not that Kennedy objected). Then these same men began the bombing of north Vietnam.

Later on, when these policies led to crushing defeats for U.S. imperialism and millions had died in a vain attempt to subjugate the people of Vietnam, the CFR switched tactics to the negotiation scheme (unfortunately aided by the opportunism of the north Vietnamese leaders). Gavin and Galbraith, both of the CFR, proposed the negotiations hoax. Averell Harriman, Cyrus Vance, Lodge and David Bruce, all CFR members, were the ambassadors to the Paris "peace" talks, which dragged on endlessly while the B-52's carried out the most devestating civilian terror bombings in history. This was the CFR's bloody scheme to force negotiations through bombings.

These beasts must be destroyed. Their control of the government is not subject to electoral activity, so they must be driven out of power by armed revolution and then brought before the workers of the world and punished for their crimes.

These are the "masters of war" who "hide behind desks," safe in their mansions while the "young people's blood flows out of their bodies and lies buried in the mud." Like B. Dylan, we say:

"And I hope that you die
And your death comes soon
I'll follow your casket on a cold afternoon
And I'll watch while you're lowered
Unto your death bed
And I'll stand over your grave
Until I'm sure that you're dead."

CONCLUSION

We in Progressive Labor Party and millions of other workers and students—particularly activists in various electoral campaigns, such as the McGovern movement—want certain revolutionary changes in this country. We speak for millions, including at least 90% of the McGovern volunteers, when we demand: (1) an end to the U.S. government policies of aggression and war, not only in Vietnam, but also in the Middle East, the Caribean and elsewhere; (2) an end to the genocidal treatment of black, Latin and other minority people in the U.S.; (3) an end to the most vicious action of monopoly capitalism with its built-in unemployment, its unsafe speed-up, its discriminatory tax structure, its shoddy goods at inflated prices.

Yet changes as revolutionary as these (they strike at the heart of the ruling class' profit structure) cannot be won without a revolution. We welcome and work for this revolutionary storm, for through the thunder and lightening of these revolutionary storms will come the rain to wash away the filth and exploitation of the present ruling class, and then and only then can a new age come into being, then we can build a new society, with no exploitation of man by man, a society in which working people collectively own the factories and farms, a society dedicated to eliminating selfishness and individualism, to building a new culture and new men and women.

SOURCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

Standard & Poor's
Dun & Bradstreet Million Dollar Directory
Moody's Industrial Manual
Moody's Banking & Finance Manual
Poor's Directory of Corporations and Directors
The Foundation Directory
Who's Who in America
International Who's Who
Who's Who in Government
Who's Who in Finance & Industry
Statistical Abstract of the U.S.
Newspaper Circulation Analysis
37th Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission
Council on Foreign Relations, **Annual Reports 1961-1962, 1962-1963, 1963-1964**
Brookings Institution, Brookings Papers on Public Policy
Committee on Economic Development, **Improving the Welfare System**

BOOKS & PERIODICALS

Schriftgiesser, **Business Comes of Age**
Domhoff, **Who Rules America**
Domhoff, **The Higher Circles**
Smoot, **The Invisible Government**
Allen, **None Dare Call it Conspiracy**
Koenig & Hall, **The Farther Vision—Educational TV Today**
Shram, et al, **The People Look at Educational Television**
Business Week
Fortune
New York Times

TABLE I
RULING FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE U.S.

(Control: R-Rockefeller; M-Morgan; BOA-Bank of America; C-Chicago Group; SF-Bay Area Group; B-Boston Group; Clev-Cleveland Group; P-Philadelphia Group Mell-Mellon; MHT-Manufacturer's Hanover Trust; D-Detroit Group)

Commercial Banks	
Bank of America	BOA
Chase Manhattan	R
First National City Bank	R
Manufacturer's Hanover Trust	MHT
Morgan Guaranty Trust	M
Chemical Bank	R
Bankers Trust	M
Continental Illinois Trust	C
First National Bank, Chicago	C
Security Pacific N B	BOA
Wells Fargo Bank	SF
Irving Trust	B
Crocker N B	SF
Mellon N B & T	Mell
National Bank of Detroit	D
First National Bank, Boston	B
First Pennsylvania Banking & T	P
Cleveland Trust	Clev
Detroit Bank & Trust	D
Manufacturers N B Detroit	D
Philadelphia N B	P
Bank of California	SF
Republic N B, Dallas	R
Harris Trust & Savings	C
Bank of New York	M
U.S. N B of Oregon	BOA
Girard Trust	P
Pittsburgh N B	Mell
Union Bank, L.A.	BOA
Northern Trust Co.	C
National City Bank, Cleveland	Clev
Fidelity Bank, Philadelphia	P
Central National Bank, Cleveland	Clev
State Street B & T	B
National Shawmut Bank	B
Society National Bank, Cleveland	Clev
First National State Bank, N.J.	M
Fidelity Union Trust, Newark	M
United States Trust	M
Brown, Bros. Harriman	M
St. Louis Union Trust	R
American Express Co.	R-M
Bank Holding Cos.	
Western Bancorporation	BOA
Marine Midland Banks	M
Northwest Bancorporation	R
First Bank System	R
Life Insurance Cos.	
Prudential	M
Metropolitan Life	R
Equitable Life	R
New York Life	R
John Hancock	B
Aetna Life	M
Travelers	R
Mutual of N.Y.	M
Mutual Benefit	M
Penn Mutual	P
Home Life	M
Massachusetts Mutual	B
New England Mutual	B
Investment Cos. & Holding Cos.	
Christiana Securities	DuPont
Lehman Corp.	M
Tri-Continental Corp.	M
General Reinsurance	M
Continental Insurance	MHT
Allegheny Corp.	MHT
Pickands Mather	Clev
Cleveland Cliffs	Clev
T. Mellon & Sons	Mell
Fund America Co.	SF
Investment Co. of America	BOA
American Mutual Fund	BOA
Transamerica Corp.	BOA
Cabot Corp.	B
General American Investors	M
Mutual Savings Banks	
Bowery Savings	M
Dollar Savings (N.Y.)	M
Seamens Bank for A	
Seamens Bank for Savings	M
Dry Dock Savings	M
Dime Savings Bank	M-R
New York Bank for Savings	M-R
Williamsburgh Savings Bank	M
Greenwich Savings Bank	M
East River Savings Bank	M-R
Emigrant Industrial Savings	R
Casualty Insurance	
Crum & Foster	M
Atlantic Mutual	M
Insurance Co. of No. America	P
Pacific Indemnity	BOA

Brockerages

First Boston Corp.
Salomon Bros. & Hutzler
Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith
Morgan, Stanley & Co.
Blyth & Co.
Halsey, Stuart & Co.
White, Weld & Co.
Eastman Dillion, Union Securities
Goldman, Sachs & Co.
Kidder, Peabody & Co.
Lazard Freres & Co.
Kuhn, Loeb & Co.
Dillon, Read & Co.

Law Firms

Shearman & Sterling, New York
Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett, New York
Sullivan & Cromwell, New York

Willkie, Farr & Gallagher, New York
Jones, Day, Cockley & Reavis, Cleveland
Cravath, Swaine & Moore, New York
Ropes & Gray, Boston
White & Case, New York
Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, New York (Mitchell & Nixon's former law firm)
Morgan, Lewis & Blokius, Philadelphia

TABLE II
RADIO & TV NETWORKS

1. ABC (Controlled by Morgan Group)
   —Assets: $295,000,000
   —Owns: ABC-TV Network (168 affiliates)
   4 ABC radio networks
   434 motion picture theaters
   3 farm journals
   record & cinema companies
   3 amusement parks
   TV interests in 17 countries

   —Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions:
   Bankers Trust
   Manufacturers Hanover Trust
   Bank of New York
   First National City Bank
   Marine Midland Corporation
   National Bank of Detroit
   Lehman Bros.
   Mutual of N.Y.
   Penn Mutual
   Mutual Benefit Life
   Metropolitan Life
   East River Savings Bank
   Bowery Savings Bank

   —Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
   Allied Stores (Jordan Marsh, Bon Marche, etc.)
   Chrysler Corp.
   American Air Lines
   Boise Cascade
   American Electric Power
   St. Regis Paper
   Western Pacific R.R.
   Albertsons
   Hiram Walker
2. CBS (Controlled by Morgan & Rockefeller Interests)
   —Assets: $857,000,000
   —Owns: CBS TV Network (247 affiliates)
   CBS Radio Network (256 affiliates)
   Columbia Records
   Holt, Rinehart & Wilson Publishing Co.
   Field & Stream Magazine
   Various other magazines, medical journals, books
   Film companies
   Musical instrument company
   Creative Playthings
   New York Yankees Baseball

   —Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions:
   First National City Bank
   Chemical Bank
   Bankers Trust
   Brown Bros., Harriman
   New York Life
   First Boston Corp.

   —Other Major Corporate Interlocks
   City Stores
   Union Pacific R.R.
   Atlantic-Richfield
   Eastern Air Lines
   Borden
   American Electric Power
   Fairchild Camera
   International Paper
3. RCA (NBC) (Controlled by the Rockefeller Group, Manufacturers Hanover Trust and the Morgan Group)
   —Assets: $2,936,000,000
   —Owns: NBC TV Network (215 affiliates)
   NBC Radio Network (220 affiliates)
   Random House Publishers
   Modern Library Publishers
   Pentheon Publishers
   Alf. E. Knopf Publishers
   W.W. Singer Publishers
   Hertz Car Rentals
   Banquet Foods
   Coronet Industries
   RCA (computers, components, records, elect. equipment)

   —Interlocks with ruling financial institutions:
   Chase Manhattan
   Chemical Bank
   Manufacturers Hanover Trust
   First National Bank of Chicago
   Continental Illinois B&T
   Irving Trust
   Metropolitan Life
   St. Louis Union Trust
   Prudential Insurance
   Girard Trust
   Lehman Corporation

   —Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
   ITT
   Macy's
   Atlas Chemical
   Continental Can
   Ralston Purina
   Texas Gulf Sulphur
   Hess Oil
   W.R. Grace
   Midland-Ross
   American Home Products

   —Institutional Interlocks:
   Harvard
   Boy Scouts
   Peace Corps

TABLE III
DOMINANT NEWSPAPER & MAGAZINE CHAINS

A. RULING CLASS CHAINS

1. **Dow Jones Co.** (controlled by Morgan and Rockefeller Group)
   —Assets: $111,000,000
   —Owns: Wall Street Journal
   National Observer
   Barron's
   9 daily and 3 Sunday papers in rural East Scantlin Electronics
   Overseas Financial Reporting Network

   —Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions
   Morgan Guaranty Trust
   First National City Bank
   J.P. Morgan & Co.
   Williamsburgh Savings Bank
   American Express Co.

   —Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
   U.S. Steel
   I.B.M.
   Mobil Oil
   Standard Oil (N.J.)
   3 M Corp.
   Lilly, Eli & Co.
   Caterpillar Tractor
   Coca-Cola
   Continental Oil
   Owens-Corning
   National Distillers

2. **New York Times** (controlled by Morgan Group)
   —Assets: $120,000,000
   —Owns: New York **Times**
   Family Circle
   2 Golf Magazines
   1 radio station in NYC
   1 TV Station in Memphis
   3 Florida Newspapers
   Cambridge Book Co.: Quadrangle Books
   Modern Medicine Group of Magazines
   Film Fax & Educational Enrichment
   School Times and Student Weekly
   Chatanooga Times

   —Controls: Des Moines Register-Tribune
   Minneapolis Star
   Milwaukee Sentinel
   Various Midwest & Southern Radio & TV Stations (Cowles Communications)
   Several other Florida newspapers
   3 other TV stations
   Ridder Publications: New York Journal of Commerce, St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch, Seattle Times (minority interest), San Jose Mercury-News, Long Beach Independent-Press-Tele., Gary Post-Tribune, Orange County News (Calif.), Pasadena Star-News, Duluth News, Grand Forks (N.D.) Herald, 2 other TV stations

   —Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions
   Morgan Guaranty Trust
   Bankers Trust
   Manufacturer's Hanover Trust
   Bowery Savings Bank
   Lazard Freres & Co.

   —Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
   Boise Cascade Co.
   ITT
   American Can
   Grumman Aircraft
   Johns-Manville

3. **Washington Post** (controlled by the Morgan Group)
   —Assets: $131,000,000
   —Owns: Newsweek
   Washington Post
   3 TV Stations
   Art News
   Book Publishing Business

   correction for above

3. **Washington Post** (controlled by the Morgan Group)
   —Assets: $131,000,000
   —Owns: Newsweek
   Washington Post
   3 TV Stations
   Art News
   Book Publishing Business

   —Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions
   Morgan Guaranty Trust
   Wells Fargo Bank

   —Major Corporate Interlocks:
   Allied Chemicals
   Ford
   IBM

4. **Time Inc.** (controlled by Rockefeller Group)
   —Assets: $545,000,000
   —Owns: Time
   Life
   Fortune
   Sports Illustrated
   Time-Life Books, Records, Films
   Little, Brown & Co. Publishers
   26 Weekly & Semi-weekly newspapers in Suburban Chicago
   Publishers of childrens, college, trade, law & medical books
   Book Clubs
   Pulp, paper & timber cos. in the South & Mid-West
   Interests in publishing companies in France, Argentina & Mexico

—Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions
Chase-Manhattan
Chemical Bank
First National Bank of Chicago

—Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
Montgomery Ward
Caterpillar Tractor
American Air Lines
Mobil Oil
Continental Oil
Colgate-Palmolive

5. **Times-Mirror Co.** (controlled by Bank of America Group)
—Assets: $172,000,000
—Owns: Los Angeles Times
Dallas Times-Herald
Long Island Newsday
General Features (news-syndicate)
Popular Science Magazine
H.M. Gousha Maps
New American Library Publishing
Publishing Cos. of bibles, dictionaries, medical books, lawbooks, art books, small newspapers and magazines
Film Cos.
Cable TV Co.
TV Station in Dallas
Book Clubs
Engineering Equipment Company
6 plywood plants
200,000 acres of Timberland

—Controls: California Institute of Technology

—Interlocks with Ruling Financial Institutions
Bank of America
Security Pacific National Bank
Western Bancorporation
Union Bank
Republic Nat'l Bank of Dallas
Bank of California

—Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
Ford
Sante Fe R.R.
Dillingham Hawaiian Interests
Northrup
Tejon Ranch
North American Rockwell
American Airlines
Neuhoff Packers
Lonestar Steel

6. **McGraw Hill Co.** (controlled by Rockefeller Group)
—Assets: $345,000,000
—Owns: Business Week
Aviation Week
Chemical Week
Electric Week
Metals Week
Chemical Engineering
Modern Hospital
House & Home
20 other weeklies
49 other magazines
Standard & Poors
Poors Directory
58 other financial & construction journals and reports
McGraw-Hill books which dominate U.S. and Canadian school and college textbooks
Encyclopedias, film programs, correspondence courses, etc.

—Interlocks with ruling class financial institutions:
Chase Manhattan
Chemical Bank
Manufacturers Hanover Trust
U.S. Trust Co.
Bankers Trust
New York Life

—Other Major Corporate Interlocks:
Borden
Sperry-Rand
Federal Home Loan Bank

B. OTHER BIG CHAINS

1. **Hearst Chain** (Controlled by Hearst family)
S.F. Chronicle-Examiner
L.A. Herald-Examiner
Boston Record-American & Herald-Traveler
Baltimore News-American
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Albany Times Union-Knickerbrocker News
2 other dailies
20th Century Fox Films
Various Magazines and Books

2. **Field Enterprises** (Controlled by Chicago banks)
Chicago Sun-Times
Chicago News
2 smaller newspapers
1 TV station

3. **Tribune Co.**
New York Daily News
Chicago Tribune
Chicago Today

4. **Knight Chain** (Controlled by Knight family)
Philadelphia Inquirer
Detroit Free Press
Miami Herald
4 other big dailies

5. **Newhouse Chain** (Controlled by Newhouse family)
Birmingham News
St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Newark Star-Ledger
Long Island Press

Cleveland Plain Dealer
Denver Post
Portland Oregonian
New Orleans Times-Picayune
9 other big dailies
30 small southern newspapers
9 TV stations
Vogue
House & Garden

6. **Scripps-Howard Chain** (Controlled by E.W. Scripps family)
Pittsburgh Press
Cincinnati Post
Cleveland Press & News
Denver Rocky Mountain News
UPI News Agency
8 other big dailies
Chain of small California Newspapers

7. **Cox Chain** (Controlled by Cox family)
Atlanta Journal & Constitution
8 other newspapers
6 TV stations

TABLE IV
SOME CFR MEMBERS IN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION (Partial List)

1. Henry Kissinger - Assistant to the President for National Security
2. Stanley Resor - Secretary of the Army
3. Elliot Richardson - Secretary of HEW
4. Glenn Seaborg - Chairman of AEC
5. John Whitney - Director of Public Broadcasting Service
6. Paul McCracken - Chairman of Council of Economic Advisors
7. Henry Cabot Lodge - Ambassador to the Paris Peace Talks
8. George Lincoln - Director of Office of Emergency Preparedness
9. Morton Halperin - Operations Staff of National Security Council
10. Thomas Gates - Chairman, Commission on an All-Volunteer Army
11. William Dale - Executive Director International Monetary Fund
12. Arthur Burns - Chairman of the Federal Reserve System
13. George Anderson - Chairman, Presidents Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
14. Jacob Beam - Ambassador to Soviet Union
15. Ellsworth Bunker - Ambassador to South Vietnam
16. David Bruce - Chief U.S. Delegation to Paris Peace Talks
17. Gen. Goodpaster - Supreme Allied Commander in Europe
18. Kenneth Rush - Assistant Secretary of Defense
19. Arthur Watson - Ambassador to France
20. Charles Yost - Ambassador to the U.N.
21. Joseph Sisco - Assistant Secretary of State for the Mid-East
22. John Richardson - Assistant Secretary of State for Educational & Cultural Affairs
23. John J. McCloy - Chairman General Advisory Committee for Disarmament
24. Donald Bennett - Director of Defense Intelligence Agency
25. John D. Rockefeller III - Chairman, National Commission on Population Growth and the American Future

TABLE V
SOME CFR MEMBERS IN THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS (Partial List)

1. John Kennedy - President
2. Dean Rusk - Secretary of State
3. Douglas Dillon - Secretary of Treasury
4. Allen Dulles - Director of CIA
5. McGeorge Bundy - Special Assistant for National Security
6. Chester Bowles - Under Secretary of State
7. George Ball - Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
8. Charles Bohlen - Assistant Secretary of State
9. George McChee - Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning
10. Adlai Stevenson - Ambassador to the U.N.
11. Averell Harriman - Ambassador-at-Large
12. Kenneth Galbraith - Ambassador to India
13. David Bruce - Ambassador to England
14. James Gavin - Ambassador to France
15. George Kennan - Ambassador to Yugoslavia
16. Roswell Gilpatric - Undersecretary of Defense
17. Arthur Schlesinger - Special White House Assistant
18. Edwin Reischauer - Ambassader to Japan
19. Edward Murrow - Head of U.S. Information Agency
20. William M. Martin - Chairman of the Federal Reserve System
21. Paul Nitze - Assistant Secretary of Defense
22. Thomas Finletter - Ambassador to NATO, Secretary of the Air Force
23. Adolph Berle - Chairman Interdepartmental Committee on Latin America
24. John McCloy - Disarmament Administration
25. Henry Cabot Lodge - Ambassador to South Vietnam

TABLE VI
MEMBERSHIP OF CED

	No. of Directors in CED
A. Banking & Finance Presidents & Directors	
1. **Rockefeller Group**	**25**
Chase Manhattan	12
First National City Bank	5
Chemical Bank	3
New York Life (not otherwise counted)	2
Metropolitan Life (not otherwise counted)	2
Equitable Life	1

(not otherwise counted)

2. **Morgan Group**	**20**
Morgan Guaranty Trust	5
Bankers Trust	5
Bank of New York	1
U.S. Trust	2
Brown Bros. Harriman	1
Lehman Corp.	1
Marine Midland Corp.	2
Morgan, Stanley & Co.	1
Tri-Continental Co.	1
Lazard Freres & Co.	1
3. **Boston Group**	**7**
First National Bank of Boston	3
State Street B&T	2
New England Merchants Bank	1
John Hancock Mutual (not otherwise counted)	1
4. **Bank of America Group**	**13**
Bank of America	7
Security-Pacific National Bank	2
Western Bancorporation	3
U.S. National Bank of Oregon	1
5. **Chicago Group** (Associated with Rockefeller Group)	**11**
First National Bank of Chicago	8
Continental Illinois Bank & Trust	3
6. **San Francisco Group**	**8**
Wells Fargo	3
Crocker National Bank	4
Bank of California	1
7. Manufacturers Hanover Trust	4
8. Mellon National Bank & Trust	4
9. Other Banking and Finance Directors	21
B. Other Corporate Presidents & Chairmen	106
C. University Presidents & Deans	6
D. Other Members (Corporate Directors and Government Officials mainly)	48

TABLE VII
MEMBERSHIP OF THE BUSINESS COUNCIL
A Sample of Corporations Represented by Two or More Directors in the Business Council (Partial List)

Banking & Finance
Chase Manhattan
First National City Bank
Manufacturers Hanover Trust
Morgan Guaranty Trust
Bankers Trust
Bank of America
Mellon National Bank & Trust
Continental Illinois Bank & Trust
Harris Trust & Savings
St. Louis Union Trust
Brown, Brothers, Harriman
Metropolitan Life
Equitable Life
Mutual of New York

Industrial-Transportation & Retail
General Motors
Ford
IBM
U.S. Steel
International Paper
Westinghouse
General Electric
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
B.F. Goodrich
Union Carbide
Eastman Kodak
Eaton Yale & Towne
Monsanto Chemical
Corning Glass
Libbey-Owens Ford
General Foods
National Distillers
National Dairy Products
Southern Pacific
American Air Lines
American Tel & Tel
J.C. Pennys
Macys

TABLE VIII
THE FOUNDATIONS - TRUSTEES

A. **Brookings Institution** - 26 trustees
1. **Banks:**
Chase Manhattan (3 trustees)
Bank of New York
Harris Trust & Savings
Continental Illinois Bank and Trust
Cleveland Trust
New England Merchants Bank
Wells Fargo
T. Mellon & Sons

2. **Other Corporations** (Partial List)
Ford
Westinghouse
Monsanto
McGraw-Hill
New York **Times**
AT&T
IT&T
Eastman Kodak
Boise Cascade

3. **Presidents and Trustees of the Following Universities:**
Harvard

Cornell
Stanford
Brown
Swarthmore
University of Rochester
Columbia

B. **Ford Foundation** - 17 trustees
1. **Banks:**
Chase Manhattan (2 trustees)
Morgan Guaranty Trust
Chemical Bank
Wells Fargo
General American Investors

2. **Other Corporations** (Partial List)
Ford (2 trustees)
Time (2 trustees)
Westinghouse
IT&T
New York **Times**

3. **Presidents and Trustees of the Following Universities:**
Harvard
John Hopkins
MIT
University of Chicago

C. **Carnegie Corporation** - 16 trustees
1. **Banks:**
First National City Bank (2 trustees)
Morgan Guaranty Trust
Marine Midland Banks
Mellon National Bank
First National Bank of St. Louis

2. **Other Corporations** (Partial List)
Standard Oil (N.J.)
Metropolitan Life
Westinghouse
Bell & Howell
Consolidated Edison
A&P Stores
Sullivan & Cromwell Law Firm

3. **Presidents and Trustees of the Following Universities:**
Harvard
Yale
MIT

D. **Rockefeller Foundation** - 23 trustees
1. **Banks & Investment Cos.:**
First National City Bank (2 trustees)
Bankers Trust
First National Bank of Boston
Lloyds Bank (Britain)
First Boston Corp. (2 trustees)
Dillon, Read & Co.

2. **Other Corporations** (Partial List)
Metropolitan Life
New York Life
IBM (2 trustees)
General Motors
Gillette
Corning Glass
New York **Times**
Kimberly-Clark

3. **Presidents and Trustees of the Following Universities:**
Harvard
Princeton
Dartmouth
California Inst. of Technology
Notre Dame
Rockefeller U.

TABLE IX
INTERLOCKS BETWEEN KEY RULING CLASS INSTITUTIONS

	No. of CFR Members who are also:	No. of CED Trustees who are also:	No. of Business Council Members who are also:
1. Members of CFR	1. --	49	42
2. Trustees of CED	2. 49	--	23
3. Members of Business Council	3. 42	23	--
4. Trustees of Brookings	4. 10	8	1
5. Trustees of Ford Foundation	5. 10	1	2
6. Trustees of Rockefeller Foundation	6. 13	2	4
7. Trustees of Carnegie Corp.	7. 11	0	2
8. Directors of New York **Times**	8. 7	1	1
9. Directors of Washington **Post**	9. 2	3	0
10. Directors of Los Angeles **Times**	10. 2	2	0
11. Directors of Time Inc.	11. 4	4	1
12. Directors of McGraw-Hill (**Business Week**)	12. 1	1	0
13. Directors of Dow-Jones (Wall Street Journal)	13. 3	1	0
14. Directors of ABC	14. 0	3	0
15. Directors of CBS	15. 6	4	2
16. Directors of RCA-NBC	16. 3	1	2

U.S.-Japanese Deal Is Set on Soviet Gas

By THEODORE SHABAD
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Oct. 29—An ambitious United States-Japanese deal for the development of Siberian natural resources appeared to be shaping up here last week as executives from the two countries met separately with Soviet officials.

The deal, now in the initial planning stage, would involve Western development of huge natural gas fields in the Yakutian region of East Siberia in return for deliveries of gas from the fields to Japan and the West Coast of the United States.

Development of the remote fields, lost in the virtually uninhabited Northern Forest, and the construction of pipelines and other facilities is expected to take at least six to eight years. Gas deliveries are unlikely before 1980; pipeline routes are now being discussed.

Other Projects Studied

Two other major oil and gas projects being studied by Japan and the United States involve the shipment of West Siberian crude oil across Siberia to Japan and a second liquid-gas project for the United States East Coast based on huge fields in Northwest Siberia.

Detailed studies will probably be necessary before priorities can be assigned to these deals, each of which would require the granting of billions of dollars of bank credits to the Soviet Union.

Western and Soviet trade specialists have long viewed technical and financial participation of Western companies in the development of Soviet natural resources as a more promising form of economic cooperation than the classical merchandise trade.

Chase Manhattan and Citibank Seek to Open Offices in Soviet

By H. ERICH HEINEMANN

The rapid expansion of trade between the United States and the Soviet Union may soon lead to the establishment of the first Soviet offices of American banks since 1922.

New York's two largest banks—the First National City Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank — confirmed yesterday that they were negotiating with Soviet officials for permission to open facilities in Moscow.

First National City, one of whose predecessor banks maintained a Soviet office from 1917 to 1922, said that it was "talking to" the Soviet Union about the possibility of a full branch, which presumably would have the right to accept deposits denominated in rubles.

Chase, whose chairman, David Rockefeller, has long been a leader in maintaining a dialogue with senior Soviet officials on the benefits of increased East-West trade, said that it had made a formal application through Anatoly F. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, to open a representative office in Moscow.

Unlike a branch, a representative office does not accept deposits, but rather—as the name implies—its officials represent their bank in seeking financing opportunities.

New York Times, Nov. 9, 1972

SOVIET SATISFIED BY NIXON VICTORY

Makes Speedy Response to U.S. Election Results

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Nov. 8—With unusual speed, the Soviet Union signaled today its clear satisfaction with President Nixon's landslide re-election victory and offered the prospect of further improvements in Soviet-American relations in his second term.

President Nikolai Podgorny sent Mr. Nixon a warmly worded congratulatory telegram noting with satisfaction the "solid foundation" achieved in the "reconstruction" of Soviet-American relations in meetings with Mr. Nixon and his aides in the last year.

"We should like to express the confidence," he went on, "that in the coming period, Soviet-American relations will be further favorably developed in the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, in the interest of insuring international security and strenghtening world peace."

Through a separate dispatch from Tass, the Soviet press agency, Moscow also gave indications that it accepted at face value White House statements on the eve of the election that the draft cease-fire agreement for Vietnam would be signed as soon as final details could be resolved.

Although Soviet officialdom and media often take several days to respond publicly to major international developments, the quick reaction this time was viewed as an effort by Moscow to maintain maximum goodwill with Mr. Nixon in his first flush of victory.

The Tass analysis of the election results said that one major factor in Mr. Nixon's favor with American voters had been moves to achieve "relaxation of international tensions" and "specifically the improvement of Soviet-American relations." It did not refer to his approach to China as well.

Another factor that Tass said had influenced the sentiments of American voters was the draft agreement to end the Vietnam fighting that was reached in October through secret negotiations with Hanoi.

"McGovern, the main rival of President Nixon, could offer the electors only the statements which in the course of the election campaign were modified, whereas representatives of the current Administration, including Nixon himself, repeatedly referred in their speeches to the agreement reached with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on an end to the war," Tass said.

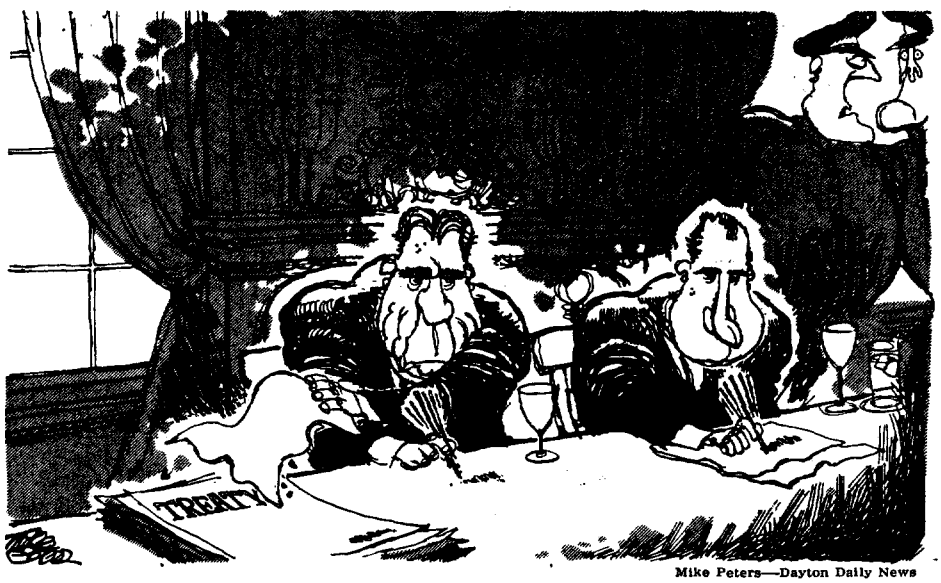
Although the accord was not signed, its very existence had influence, Tass commented, among an electorate that "believed that the U. S. Government would fulfill the commitments undertaken and would sign the agreement, as H. Kissinger asserted, in the nearest future."

Although those sentiments were attributed to American voters, the prominence given the comments in the Tass analysis was taken as an indication that Moscow itself shared this expectation.

The Tass explanation of Democratic party successes in Congressional races rested on domestic issues, just as it contended that foreign policy issues had given Mr. Nixon his personal triumph.

"The United States is beset with many acute and pressing domestic problems," it said. "The Democratic party in the course of the election campaign laid stress on growing unemployment, inflation, the heavy budget deficit, tremendous military appropriations, the heavy tax burden."

The main Soviet television news show tonight carried pictures of Mr. Nixon surrounded by jubilant supporters at his victory celebration, while an announcer read Mr. Podgorny's congratulatory message.



Mike Peters—Dayton Daily News

'I think they need a rest . . . They just signed their napkins'

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1972

The Truce: China and Russia's Role

By Robert Keatley

WASHINGTON — That wise old man who administers China has reaffirmed his strong support for Hanoi's "solemn and just stand" for ending the Vietnam war.

Well he might. For Premier Chou En-lai helped push a balky North Vietnamese leadership into seeking largely made-in-America terms which should halt gunfire throughout Indochina.

But Mr. Chou did not push alone. Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, too, has let his country make clear that Moscow also wants Vietnam peace more than it desires prolonged Vietnam war; for the Russians also, proletarian solidarity has its limits in practice, if not in theory.

It all represents a dramatic turnabout in big power relationships since the Nixon-Kissinger team began directing U.S. foreign policy, and revising the priorities. Earlier, Washington often found itself leaping into little wars (and making them bigger) to hold back the red tide of communism; now it deals directly with big Communist powers to end little wars before they cause more trouble for everyone.

"It's a remarkable, almost incredible, change," says a White House expert on such things.

Hanoi, of course, is where the change was noted most—if with considerable disgust. North Vietnam's freedom to criticize big friends is limited; it needs their aid. But official statements have made it clear that Hanoi opposes detente, that it feels the big nations are selling out the Communist cause to pursue selfish national interests. (That these nations may believe Hanoi's demands for unlimited support are also rather selfish is most likely an unthinkable thought.)

This disgust burst into print in Hanoi after Mr. Nixon journeyed so joyously to Peking and Moscow earlier in the year. ". . . If out of the narrow interests of (its own) country one tries to help the most reactionary forces to avert the dangerous blows, just like throwing a life-belt to a drowning pirate, that is a cruel (form of) recognition, beneficial to the enemy and detrimental to the cause of revolution," complained the official party paper, Nhan Dan.

More pungently, it concluded: "The road of revolution is full of fragrant grass and flowers; opportunism is a stinking swamp."

Opportunism or Fragmentation?

But what strikes Hanoi as opportunism is mere pragmatism to both Peking and Moscow. Leaders in both capitals see the world changing, and they have diverse reasons for wanting closer relations with the U.S. Thus, both refused to let ideological loyalties interfere with developing rapprochement; in fact, both apparently saw excessive loyalty to Hanoi as endangering their new ties with the U.S. Certainly, Mr. Nixon tried to make it seem so.

"We do not ask you to sacrifice your principles, or your friends," he preached to Moscow last May, after North Vietnamese divisions armed with Russian guns invaded the South. "But neither should you permit Hanoi's intransigence to blot out the prospects we together have so patiently prepared. . . . We are prepared to continue to build this relationship. The responsibility is yours if we fail to do so."

This televised speech came on the eve of the Moscow Summit, where the Russians hoped to wrap up an arms control agreement, scientific exchanges and—increasingly important—some trade pacts. An incident at the time illustrates how Russians view their priorities.

One viewer of the speech, which announced the mining of North Vietnamese ports and warned the Soviets that the detente was in trouble, was the visiting Russian Trade Minister, dining that night at the home of Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson. After hearing Mr. Nixon's tough words, he turned to his host and said: "Well, let's get back to business." And a couple of days later he posed happily with the President, a clear signal to Hanoi that Moscow put its own interests first.

When Moscow let the summit proceed despite the mining, any doubts Hanoi had about Soviet intentions must have vanished for good. But to drive it home a bit more, Russian propagandists—talking with American newsmen along on the Moscow trip—privately berated Hanoi for trying to sabotage cooperation between the superpowers. As intended, such talk got into print.

China's known pressure has been applied discreetly. For example, Premier Chou used a state banquet to cite political talks between the two Koreas, and his own conversations with Japanese leaders, as examples for others to follow. Such efforts "to settle reasonably their mutual disputes have become an irresistible trend," he noted rather pointedly to the assembled diplomats, including North Vietnamese.

More concrete evidence followed the Haiphong mining. Though Peking eventually let some Russian ships carrying goods for North Vietnam to use South China ports, it never permitted massive transit of Chinese territory by Soviet planes and rail cars. The Sino-Soviet split was not about to be mended for Hanoi's sake despite Vietnamese appeals for Communist unity. And neither big Communist power, of course, tried to crash the American blockade.

Not known, of course, is what Moscow and Peking said privately to Hanoi's leaders. But it seems logical to assume that they stressed political settlement more than endless war; and their message probably got across.

Russian motivations have become obvious in recent weeks. A disastrous harvest has caused Moscow to buy some 28 million tons of foreign grain, much from America. A lagging economy also needs Western capital and technology, Moscow has decided, and the U.S. is the prime (hoped for) supplier. Arms control and other security negotiations seem increasingly attractive to the Kremlin, and again the United States is the main participant. Pursuing these goals began to seem more important than arming the North Vietnamese indefinitely.

Some Chinese motives also are clear. Peking's main security concern is the Soviet Union, which keeps some 42 divisions along the Chinese frontier. More cordial relations with Washington must seem, to Peking, to be a restraint on Russian leaders—who probably aren't considered to be completely rational by sophisticated Chinese.

Priority of Regaining Taiwan

Peking must rate regaining Taiwan, which it considers an offshore province, higher than supporting a continuous war. Getting the conflict over doesn't mean the United States will somehow hand over the island it protects, but Washington has promised to withdraw the 9,000 G.I.s based here after the war ends—and China wants them out. In addition, desire for American trade and technology probably is a consideration in Peking, though not deemed nearly as important as in Moscow.

All this obviously—and with reason—made Hanoi feel abandoned. Not totally, of course; both Communist powers still send some arms and civilian goods, and most likely will never stop completely. Likewise, their rhetoric still backs North Vietnamese positions and says few good things about the U.S. "We shall continue to broaden the movement of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and act on the side of the just cause of the Indochinese People," vowed Soviet Cosmonaut German Stepanovich Titov the other day.

And there is little doubt that both Peking and Moscow prefer a Communist government in South Vietnam to a Thieu-type regime. But there are distinct limits on just how much either will do to spread the Leninist cause; both prefer policies which put first things first.

Thus Hanoi felt forced to separate military issues from political ones—despite years of insisting otherwise—and to strike a deal with Washington. It still must hold long-range goals of communizing South Vietnam, and arranging unification on its own terms. But it has reluctantly concluded that force alone won't succeed, partly because its allies refuse to cooperate completely. Hanoi's growing military and economic difficulties are also important parts of the equation, of course.

This means the American part of the war is ending, and can no longer interfere with assorted other U.S. diplomatic endeavors. To Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger, the final arrangement must seem a great triumph for the big-power policies they love so well.

Mr. Keatley, a member of The Journal's Washington bureau, covers diplomatic affairs.

New York Times, Nov. 4

Vietcong Irritation Over Concessions By Hanoi Reported

By FLORA LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Nov. 1—American sources in close touch with the Vietcong's delegation in Paris said today that the Vietcong were irritated and unhappy with North Vietnam for having dropped three of its crucial demands in reaching a cease-fire agreement with the United States.

Unlike President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam, the Vietcong have made no public statements challenging any aspects of the draft agreement. But they have repeatedly expressed their concern for political prisoners held by the Saigon Government. Many of the prisoners are people whom the Communists would rely upon to staff their administration, the sources said, and to represent them in three-part councils of Communists, Saigon loyalists and neutralists envisioned in the pact.

Since the draft agreement leaves it to Saigon and the Vietcong to negotiate the release of Vietnamese civilian prisoners, there are no guarantees or time limits on their further detention and treatment.

According to these sources, the Vietcong delegation is also reproaching Hanoi for dropping the demands for the resignation of President Thieu and the liquidation of Saigon's police apparatus.

The agreement, as disclosed by Hanoi and generally confirmed by Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's national-security adviser, provides that the Saigon administration and the Vietcong remain in charge of the areas they control on the day the fighting stops.

That "temporary" arrangement is to last until elections can be held to form a new unified government. But there is no date fixed for elections and all further political moves are to depend on agreements worked out by Saigon and the Vietcong.

The accord provides only that they "will do their utmost" to set up a three-part National Council of Reconciliation and Concord within three months after a cease-fire begins.

In a mounting and widespread campaign on the political prisoners, the Vietcong made public today what they described as a letter smuggled out from Chi Hoa Prison in Saigon.

The letter, received by Vietnamese Catholic sources in Paris, told of torture of a student leader, Le Cong Giau, who was said to be on the point of death in the prison.

The Vietcong statement did not refer to Mr. Giau, but it said that "more than 10 prisoners" had to be rushed to a hospital because of fierce beatings by guards last Wednesday after they had tried to protest against "the condition of one of their fellow inmates."

The letter about Mr. Giau is signed only "The Students Imprisoned at Chi Hoa Prison, Saigon." It is dated Oct. 11, 1972, and concludes, "We beg you to do everything possible (alert public opinion, take all necessary steps) to bring help to our friend whose state is so critical. Otherwise Giau may not survive."

United Aircraft Sells 40 Engines to China

Spares Bring Total to 80, at a Price of $40 Million; All Are For 707s Ordered Last Month

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

EAST HARTFORD, Conn.—United Aircraft Corp. said it sold 40 spare engines for Boeing 707 jet aircraft to the People's Republic of China. The order is valued at $20 million and brings United Aircraft's total engine sales to China to 80, at a price of $40 million, the company said.

The previous 40 engines are those that will go into the 10 Boeing 707s the Chinese ordered from Boeing Co. last month. Those planes are to be delivered during 1973 and 1974, with deliveries of the spare engines to begin in mid-1973, United Aircraft said.

It said its representatives were in China in July and September to negotiate the contract, and returned this month with a signed agreement. The engines involved are the JT3D model built by the Pratt & Whitney Aircraft division.

"Damn it, Follinsbee, don't we make anything we can sell to the goddam Commies?"

Letters...

A Rejoinder from Israel

Sept. 3, 1972

Dear Sirs:

I am not a member of Progressive Labor nor support fully your platform or ideology, but having recently returned from Israel after spending a year there, I beg to correct the letter from "N.D." in the August issue on factual and/or distortions. As it doesn't seem that the correspondent is an official member of P.L., I take it that this is not a direct or conscious decision on the magazine's part to print these errors but was done rather out of ignorance.

SIACH, of which I am also not a member, is an acronym for Israeli New Left. It is not, as written, a "liberal Zionist" group, but was begun by former Mapam kibbutz people as well as some former activists from the Communist Party. Mapam is the socialist-Zionist party, and many people dropped out when they joined the ruling government coalition after the 6-Day War and founded SIACH.

SIACH has always stated its opposition to capitalism and its support of socialism. SIACH does not support the U.N. Resolution 242 but clearly calls for Palestinian self-determination. SIACH is not Zionist in that quite a number of its members are non-Zionist; it is not a member of the World Zionist Organization, and is not planning, nor ever applied, to join, and thus was not in attendance at the Zionist Congress in Jerusalem in January. Thus it does not receive support from that body as all the Zionist parties in Israel and abroad do.

This year SIACH activists, as members of kibbutzim that border the Gaza Strip, uncovered the Army seizure of Bedouin lands and the forcible removal of these villagers to make way for Jewish settlements. They conducted a militant campaign against this policy that called down on them the wrath of the government and all Zionist parties as well as most of the kibbutz federations. The speaking engagement by Marcuse at a SIACH meeting at Hebrew Univ. does not reflect any endorsement of his politics, but rather shows the political and intellectual isolation all Israeli Jews feel, being cut off from the Middle East by war, and from Europe by language and cultural barriers.

SIACH had nothing to do with the founding nor existence of the Jewish Liberation Project of New York. I was at one time affiliated to that movement, a socialist-Zionist group of American, not Israeli, Jews, which was founded in 1968, a year before SIACH began. The only relationship between the groups was mutual correspondence with a few individual members of SIACH.

The May Day demonstration in Tel Aviv consisted of both wings of C.P., the Left Alliance (a splinter-off of Mapam) SIACH, and Hashomer Hatzair. There were about 1500 people in attendance. The Jerusalem demonstration which I attended and saw friends of mine arrested was basically Black Panthers and onlookers, as well as people from Women's Liberation, Young Mapam (who marched with red flags from their own earlier legal rally, and who had plastered May Day posters at factories all over the city), SIACH, Independent Socialist Zionists (mostly new immigrants from South America at Hebrew Univ.) as well as "all the anti-Zionist forces." Unfortunately there were not 1500 people in support of the demo there, and definitely not 1000 police and 200 plainclothes (there are not that many police in the whole regional force probably).

Anyone carrying a red flag was subject to arbitrary arrest (very arbitrary, considering the Labor Party and Histadrut buildings were flying the flag). Students from SIACH, Young Mapam and the Independent Socialist-Zionists were the principal organizers of the administration building takeover at Hebrew Univ. The photo you printed shows 3 students and the university officials. I recognize one of the students as a member of SIACH. The demonstration in Jerusalem the next week, which I again attended, was not called by those students alone, but rather by the Black Panthers with students and workers from all over the country in attendance supporting them.

There is definitely a vacuum in terms of a revolutionary, Arab-Jewish, anti-imperialist movement in Israel. It will not be advanced by attacking allies in the class struggle such as SIACH. Nor will it be advanced by attacking all Zionists point-blank because there **are** Zionists who are revolutionaries. For instance, in London on July 9, 1972 the demonstration demanding the release of Giora Noyman held outside the Israeli Embassy was sponsored by the Israel-Palestine Socialist Action Group. That group is made up of young British Zionists.

One final item: while "N.D." criticizes the Revolutionary Communist Alliance for not signing their leaflets with the name "communist," why doesn't the correspondent spell out his/her name?

—A Reader

The Racists Retreat

-SDS Smokes Them Out-

The nation-wide attack led by SDS against U.S. bosses' racist plan to divide and conquer the working class and students with neo-Nazi "theories" of "genetic inferiority" has already achieved significant results. Before the start of the 1972-73 school year, mounting mass pressure forced the bosses to demote four of their most prominant academic racists.

WHEN THE BOSSES DECIDED TO LAUNCH their present all-out assault on the working class' hard-won standard of living, they knew they would have to intensify racism on every front. They understand that racism is the greatest profit-making idea ever invented, because it sets workers against each other, prevents them from waging class struggle, and serves to justify imperialism and bosses' wars.

Daniel P. Moynihan, a Harvard "scholar" and one of Nixon's top-level brain-trusters for "urban affairs," paved the way for the present phase of the ruling class' racist campaign when he leaked out a memo he had written to the White House in early 1970. He began by citing a bunch of phony statistics to "prove" that "American Negroes have made extraordinary progress" in every area of life. He went on to warn that "many problems" still confronted the Nixon administration in the area of "race relations."

According to this racist, the most notable of these problems was the "extraordinarily high incidence of anti-social behavior among young black males." Moynihan then referred to the "complex psychiatric interpretation of fire-setting personalities the slums produce" and said that the "urban riots of 1964-1968 could be thought of as epidemic conditions of an endemic situation."

In other words—translated into plain and simple English—Moynihan understood perfectly that his

(Articles from CHALLENGE, Feb. through Sept.)

HARVARD-RADCLIFFE SDS LEVELS SIGHTS ON HERRNSTEIN...

by Harvard-Radcliffe PLP Club

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—Harvard Professor Richard Herrnstein, under mounting attack for his racist "theory" that black people are genetically inferior to white, has now stated publicly that he will never again discuss his article in public. When Herrnstein spoke to a group of law faculty and post-graduate students, a Law School Dean stood at the door to keep other students out—including some invited by some of the professors there. He also addressed an organized meeting of alumni

'Hitler rose, Hitler fell... racist Jensen go to hell!'

U. OF IOWA SDS

IOWA CITY, IOWA—RICHARD HERRNSTEIN, RACist Harvard professor, will get the same kind of reception when he comes to the Univ. of Iowa campus on Feb. 25 as racist welfare-cutting Nixon got last April when thousands of angry construction workers, farmers and students greeted him with signs to Iowa, Nixon, You Cut-throat

...ing for a Mid...

LOOP CITY COLLEGE SDS

CHICAGO—A PETITION IS CIRCULATING AT Loop City College condemning the ideas in Banfield's **The Unheavenly City**. A teacher who uses the book was debated on the campus, while other organizations are getting involved in the campaign to junk this garbage here. In his book he says "Forty One per cent of black and Latin people are 'lower class'." And he calls for the elimination of "lower classes." We aim to eliminate him ... students at the U. of Pennsylvania sho... ...eads up an Urban ... ...ma...

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN NATION IN FOR A FALL

SEATTLE—Students at Seattle Central Community College have forced the school to end the use of a racist textbook, and have formed a committee to fight all forms of racism here. The text, The Rise of the American Nation, says:

"Many planters provided for their slaves as carefully as they did for members of their own families, and in turn won the love of their slaves." (p. 310)

"These secret organizations, the Knights of the White Camelia and the Ku Klux Klan, tried to frighten the Negroes and their white leaders... Bands of hooded men clothed in ghostly white robes rode abroad at night, stopping now and then at a house to issue their warning." (p. 407)

YOUNG M.D.'S RAP RACIST 'EXPERIMENTS'

ATLANTA, GA.—The Second National House Staff Conference (interns and residents) held here in early March passed a statement on human research showing the willingness of young doctors to oppose common racist medical ...eriments.

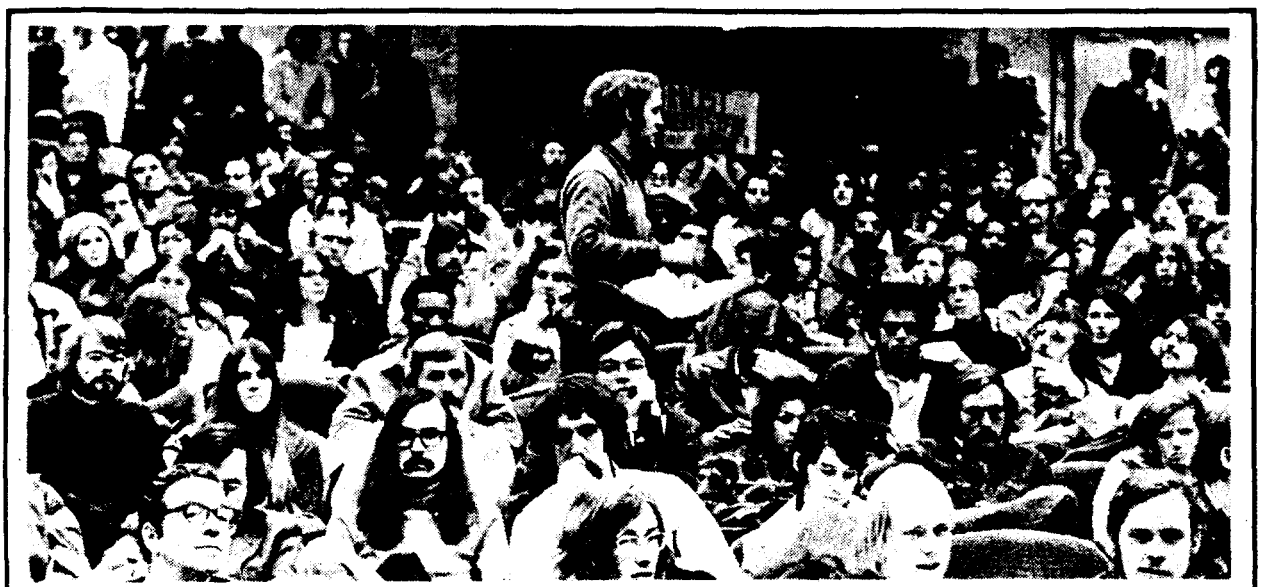
original claim of "extraordinary progress" was a filthy lie. He knew that the militancy of young black workers was providing key leadership in the class struggle to **all** workers, and he knew he had to come up with some pseudo-scientific jargon to justify his characterization of this militancy as "neurotic" or even "psychotic" behavior.

Moynihan concluded this memo by stating that the "race issue" had been "too much talked about by hysterics, paranoids, and boodlers on all sides." What he meant, of course, was that the fight against racism had already reached proportions that were beginning to frighten the U.S. government and the banks and corporations it serves. He called for a period of "benign neglect" on the question of racism—meaning a moratorium on organizing **against** the government's upcoming racist attack on the whole working class. If anything, Moynihan's memo, and the widespread publicity it received, were part of a conscious and **malignant** attempt by the U.S. bourgeoisie to dress racism up in new clothes of respectability, by giving it a stamp of "scientific" approval.

Educational Review that intelligence is largely inherited, and that therefore children who "do badly" in school and in later life fail because they were "born that way." He referred specifically to black children.

- In 1970, Edward Banfield, a Harvard "urbanologist," published **The Unheavenly City,** in which he argued that poverty and the general oppressiveness of working-class life can be explained by workers' "lack of concern for the future." He stated that this "present-orientation" was particularly prevalent in ghettoes and suggested that the more "salvageable" children from the ghettoes be taken away from their parents and brought up in the suburbs. He characterized workers who rebelled against the intolerable oppression of ghetto life as "rioters mainly for fun and profit."

- In 1971, another Harvard "scholar," Richard Herrnstein, published an article in the **Atlantic Monthly** claiming that society is "naturally" evolving into more and less "intelligent castes." He defended Jensen's "thesis" about the genetic determination of intelligence and the qualitative dif-



600 'Middle America' SDS-led Iowa U. Students Chase Racist Herrnstein

The bosses wanted an excuse both to cut back on the already pathetic services they provide and to pave the way for rising unemployment, the wage freeze, blinding speedup, and their other schemes. All of a sudden "social scientists," "psychologists," and "scholars" from other disciplines in leading universities began publishing articles with "proof" about the "genetic inferiority" of black, Latin, and other non-white workers:

- In 1969, Arthur Jensen, a "psychologist" at the University of California wrote in the **Harvard**

ference in intellectual ability between black people and white people.

• William Schockley, a Nobel prize-winning physicist, left his laboratory and began preaching the virtues of Jensenism with evangelical zeal, both in the classroom and on television.

MANY OTHERS FOLLOWED SUIT IN THIS VEIN. By the end of 1971, there was hardly a major university without at least one leading faculty convert to, or partisan of, the "new" theory of racial and class inequality. Furthermore, every time another "scholar" fell into line, the bosses published his findings in a book or magazine and bally-hooed them as a "radical new discovery."

In reality, of course, racism is just about as old as the idea of exploitation itself:

• In the 1850's, as French bosses were consolidating their colonial rule over north Africa, Arthur de Gobineau published his **Essay on the Inequality of Human Races.**

• In the same period, as England was becoming the dominant colonial power in the world, Herbert Spencer came up with "social Darwinism" to "prove" that colonial rulers were "fitter" than those they exploited.

• In the 1890's, Houston Stewart Chamberlain moved from England to Germany and wrote about "Aryan superiority."

• In the 1930's, the Nazis used the work of these distinguished predecessors to justify their 1000-year Reich, their butchery of six million Jews, and their imperialist war of world conquest. Jensen & Co. didn't fall from the sky. By the late 1930's, almost every large German university had its department of **Deutsche Rassewissenschaft** (German Race-Science). Alfred Rosenberg's book, **Race and Race History,** served as the leading theoretical justification for the murder and oppression of the "racially impure," i.e., everybody but the Nazi ruling class.

U.S. BOSSES NEED RACISM FOR THE SAME reason the Nazis did 30 years ago. The initial justification for the imperialist Vietnam war was that the "poor dumb Asians don't understand democracy, so we'll have to help them." Everybody knows by now what form this "help" took—millions of Vietnamese killed, 50,000 Americans dead and 500,000 wounded. The bosses find themselves more and more in competition with imperialists from other countries. Now Ford and GM have started to issue racist statements about auto workers "undercutting" U.S. workers, hoping that auto workers here will view Japanese workers as their enemies.

It's no accident, either, that Herrnstein published his "findings" the very same week Nixon announced the wage freeze, or that Jensen's article received nation-wide publicity during the period when the bosses began to cut welfare rolls drastically and put tens of thousands of black and Latin welfare clients on forced labor.

However, there's a fatal flaw in the bosses' armor. Racism hurts **everybody,** not just the minorities whom it hurts the most obviously and viciously. Black, Latin **and** white Americans were killed in Vietnam. Black, Latin **and** white workers and students are affected by the wage freeze, speed-up, unemployment, rising prices, dilapidated schools and murderous medical care.

Most important, black, Latin **and** white workers, students and professionals are beginning to fight back seriously against racist ideology and its implications. Spearheaded by SDS, an anti-racist campaign has involved thousands of students and faculty on campuses all over the country. The filthy lies of the academic racists and their right to spread these lies have been challenged, and these challenges have been backed with militant struggle.

Some important results have already been achieved. The Stanford administration told Schockley to go back to physics and leave "genetics" alone. Harvard gave Herrnstein a "sabbatical." Banfield was shipped to the University of Pennsylvania. When he got there, the student newspaper headlined: "Banfield's arrival causes 'Unheavenly Controversy.'" Jensen ran off all the way to Australia!

THIS RESHUFFLING OF PERSONNEL CORRESponds to a slight ideological shift on the bosses' part. An article **(The Social Engineers Retreat Under Fire)** in the latest issue of **Fortune** magazine refers to Jensen & Co. as "outspoken heretics" and admits that they may not have said the last word on the question of "poverty" and other social "problems." The bosses are now pulling a new rabbit out of the hat, in the person of Harvard's Christopher Jencks, whose computers led him to the amazing "discovery" that financial success is due to "luck and the right personality," not primarily to genetic factors.

Jencks tries to pose as a great humanitarian. In fact, he calls for "socialism." This pretense is little better than a thin disguise for the fact that Jencks' book tries to provide a glib smokescreen for the racism that the rulers are attempting to whip up everywhere, and, most particularly, in the schools. Jencks doesn't dispute the Jensenite "theory" of "genetic inequality." He merely says that "genetic inequality" doesn't necessarily have to bring about "economic inequality." In passing, he says that economic inequality affects groups rather than individuals, implying thereby that social classes don't exist (remember—Jencks is a "socialist"...)!

Jencks' plan to reduce the economic gap "between individuals" is "to make those with the most competence and luck subsidize those with the least competence and luck to a far greater extent than they do today." In other words, according to this latest Harvard genius, the problem with **tens of millions** of oppressed black, Latin, and white workers is that they're no better than jinxed jerks.

Jencks' other "contribution" to social and educational thought is the claim that differences between schools have "very little effect on what happens to students after they graduate." Jencks' book, **Inequality,** produces numerous, unreadable charts and graphs to substantiate this "brilliant" hypothesis. Somehow, however, our "theoretician" never gets around to the elementary facts of life about the public school system that every

working-class parent, student, and teacher knows: the ruling class **deliberately** teaches racism and anti-working class lies in schools; **deliberately** infests the schools with cops to terrorize the students and parents; **deliberately** pushes drugs in the schools; and **deliberately** slashes school budgets—all in the name of maximizing profits. All these conditions, Jencks would have us believe, have no effect on the later life of students who are subjected to them.

Jencks' cover for the racist, anti-working class nature of the schools in the name of "socialism" and "reducing inequality" represents a step backward for U.S. rulers' efforts to intensity racism. Harvard's "theoriticians" often get the assignment of formulating key elements of the bourgeoisie's ideological line. Jencks' book received great publicity even before publication. Although capitalism can still get a lot of mileage out of Jensenite racism, the more far-sighted capitalists understand they'll have to come up with more subtle spokesmen for racist ideology. Jencks is their latest trial balloon. If he fails—and millions of workers and students will see to it that he does—they'll come up with another.

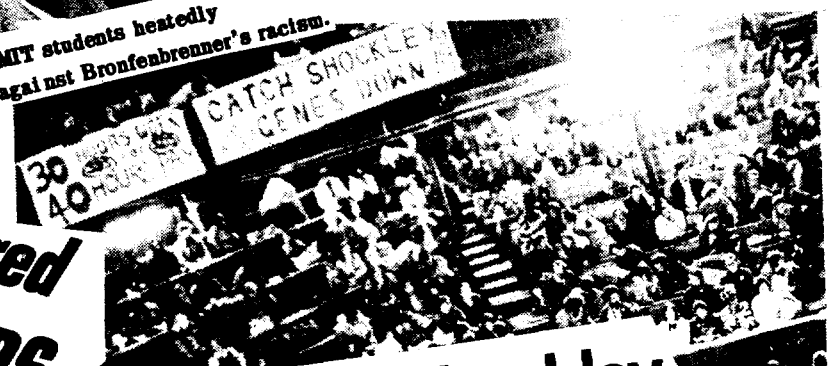
The fact that the bosses have retreated slightly from their spruced-up version of the old Nazi arguments is a good thing. It shows the growing strength of the anti-racist movement. But workers and students shouldn't be fooled by this retreat. The bosses will no more give up racism than they'll give up their profits. They **will** keep trying to dress it up in new forms in the hope that we'll swallow it.

No matter in what form, racism is the mortal enemy of all workers and students. The logic of not fighting it tooth and nail is to give the bosses a blank check for more imperialist wars, more unemployment, even lower wages, and the further deterioration of everyone's standard of living.

RACISM ISN'T JUST A "NASTY IDEA" OR something bad that happens to someone else—it's a killer plague the bosses want to bring down on our class, for their own benefit. We can't get rid of it entirely until we've destroyed this whole rotten system and won socialism. But we **can** wage an uncompromising battle against it now.

By getting rid of all present and future Jensens, Herrnsteins, and Schockleys, we can turn the bosses' small ideological retreat into a rout—and when millions of workers and students are aroused against the IDEA of racism, the bosses will find it very hard indeed to carry out other aspects of the profit war they have declared against workers everywhere.

So-called "politically dead" MIT students heatedly question, then rise up against Bronfenbrenner's racism.



Banfield Cornered By U. of Penn. SDS

Physicists Denounce Racist Shockley

by members of SESPA and PLP

SAN FRANCISCO—At the American Physical Society (APS) conference, held here from Jan. 31-Feb. 3, the following resolution was adopted against the racist Nobel prize winner Willia... Shockl... claims t... by...

Hundreds of SDS delegates plan anti-racist actions during the spirited plenary session.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1972

Piaget Sees Science Dooming Psychoanalysis

By JOHN L. HESS

Jean Piaget, the Einstein of child psychology, flew in from Geneva Tuesday and gently shook up an admiring throng of specialists at the City University of New York.

He predicted that psychoanalytical theory—the whole school of training and therapy deriving from Freud—would be exposed as "mythical" by studies on hormones and the way the brain functions.

As to the spate of tests showing that children in advanced Western societies went faster and further in learning than did children in primitive societies or urban slums, he held that this was environmental and did not affect the structure of the learning process — implying that education must go through the same phases for all.

The 76-year-old psychologist who recently recovered from an illness, arrived at 8 A.M. and appeared at 4 P.M. before a seminar of 50 students of clinical psychology in the university's graduate center on 43d Street. Then he addressed more than 500 specialists from the metropolitan area and New England, before driving down to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore for a lecture.

The Prose Is Turgid

Today, he is to fly home, observes the work research institute and books that flow year, he pro- Piaget de- tired.

sipped tea and puffed one of his legendary stained meerschaums during pauses for translation from the French. A large man, he wore heavy-rimmed glasses and a loose gray suit, with a faded Legion of Honor rosette in the lapel.

Celebrated for his ability to communicate with children, Mr. Piaget is almost equally noted for the opaqueness of the prose he addresses to specialists, for whom "cognitive structure" is more scientific than "learning." The first of a score of written questions was a fair sample: "What are the differences and similarities of a gestalt and a cognitive structure, not only in the reversible but also among the irreversible structures?"

A student of abnormal behavior posed a more simple, and more worried, question: "Is there a place for emotion in your study?"

The Learning Process

"I always find this question amusing," Mr. Piaget replied, because one would really be out of one's mind to work without emotion. Emotion is the motive factor of any behavior whatever.... The question is whether the emotional factor will modify the structure. For my part, I doubt it.

"I think schizophrenia attacks both the emotion and the structure. As for the normal subject, I don't think the motive force modifies the structure."

He said a child who was at ease with [illegible] was inhibited about it, but "they'll arrive at the same structure—2 and 2 make 4."

"Now I think that psychological research on emotion, especially psychoanalytical research, is quite provisional," Mr. Piaget continued. "When the endocrinologists find certain answers, much psychoanalytical theory will be found entirely mythical.

"Studies of the brain will find the mechanisms [of learning] but will change nothing of the structure."

Passing from the seminar to the auditorium for the second session, a group of clinical psychology students confided that they were dismayed.

"Sure they're upset," said Prof. Harry Beilin, Mr. Piaget's host and a leading interpreter of his work. "It implies that their house is resting on quicksand. I think so, too."

Some Experiments

At the larger session, Mr. Piaget alluded again to his revolutionary experiments in how children learn "conservation" — for example, that things can change their shape without changing their volume. He and his colleagues would take a ball of clay and, as children watched, roll it into a long, sausage shape. Small children would respond invariably that there was more clay in the sausage than in the ball.

Similarly, the Piagetians put down two rows of 10 checkers each, but with one [illegible] out longer than [illegible]ge 5 or 6 more checkers in the longer row, even after they have counted them.

A questioner observed that recent tests among primitive tribes in Africa and in some slums in America showed an inability to grasp the concept of conservation, even among adults. He asked whether this did not call for a change in the Piagetian thesis.

"Absolutely not at all," Mr. Piaget retorted. "The development of children's intelligence implies a constant exchange with the social environment. Obviously, progress is slow or fast, according to the environment."

The Early Learners

In his institute at Geneva, he reported, the most precocious children were those of atomic physicists based

"Now I don't think these parents taught their children the notion of conservation," he said. "In fact, they don't understand it. The proof is that when I explained it to Einstein in Princeton, he was enchanted."

On the other hand, in tribal society, where tradition and the rule of elders impairs free inquiry, the attainment of complex ideas can be inhibited, he concluded.

Mr. Piaget shed a little light on the latest research in Geneva. A major area concerns the learning of abstract concepts. He illustrated, swinging a pocket watch from the end of a heavy gold chain. A child of 5, he said, soons learns how to let go of a swinging object so that it will land in a box. But not [illegible] he said.

Militant black students rebelled on the two campuses of Southern Univ. in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, seizing the administration building in New Orleans and forcing the resignation of the vice-president. They received support from cafeteria workers who joined their demonstration for better food and medical care, curriculum changes, higher wages for those workers, and better housing. They faced the National Guard and state cops with machine guns and tanks at one campus. But their unity held firm and they won several demands, including complete amnesty for all those involved. The building seizure ended Nov. 9 but the campaign against oppressive conditions continues.

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

Presidio of San Francisco, California

May 3, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the County of Alameda, State of California, within the boundary beginning at the point where the southerly limits of the City of Oakland meet San Francisco Bay; thence easterly and following the southerly limits of said city to U. S. Highway No. 50; thence southerly and easterly on said Highway No. 50 to its intersection with California State Highway No. 21; thence southerly on said Highway No. 21 to its intersection, at or near Warm Springs, with California State Highway No. 17; thence southerly on said Highway No. 17 to the Alameda-Santa Clara County line; thence westerly and following said county line to San Francisco Bay; thence northerly, and following the shoreline of San Francisco Bay to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

920 - "C" Street,
Hayward, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
   (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
   (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
   (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
   (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
   (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

SEE CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 34.

Concentration Camps for Japanese: Racist Prelude to Imperialist Wars in Korea and Vietnam

The internment of Japanese Americans during World War Two was a blatant act of racism. Most of the U.S. propaganda for carrying on the war was encrusted with racist filth. The racism against the Japanese people at home and abroad was used as a springboard for U.S. aggression in Korea and later Vietnam.

Many of the internees had illusions about the nature of U.S. imperialism, and their loyalty to it. These illusions were shed during their internment in the concentration camps. Many rebellions erupted, and a great deal of militancy came forward.

This racism is more virulent than ever as U.S. bosses try and pit American workers against Japanese workers. Recently, in New York City, an anti-racist action was held by workers. "They were protesting an advertisement that shows a large American flag with the words 'Made in Japan' under it; and in smaller letters, 'Has Your Job Been Exported To Japan Yet?' If not it soon will be." (New York Times)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union leader Gus Tyler and his cronies who operate U.S. sweatshops, as well as most bosses, push this crap. Racism in any form, against any people, has got to go. And the one way to accomplish this is to beat the racists into the ground.

Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give them the inside room of the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry and dead up against it.

Henry McLemore,
San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 29, 1942.

I'm for catching every Japanese in America, Alaska, and Hawaii now and putting them in concentration camps. . . . Damn them! Let's get rid of them now!

Congressman John Rankin,
Congressional Record, Feb. 19, 1942.

The Japanese race is an enemy race. . . .

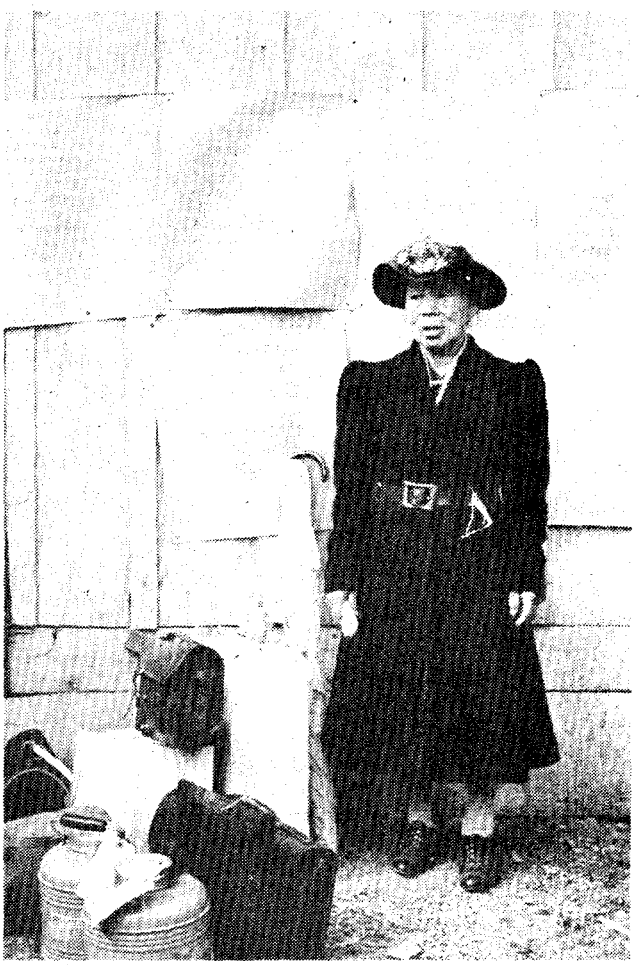
Gen. John L. DeWitt, Commander,
Western Defense Command & 4th U.S. Army.

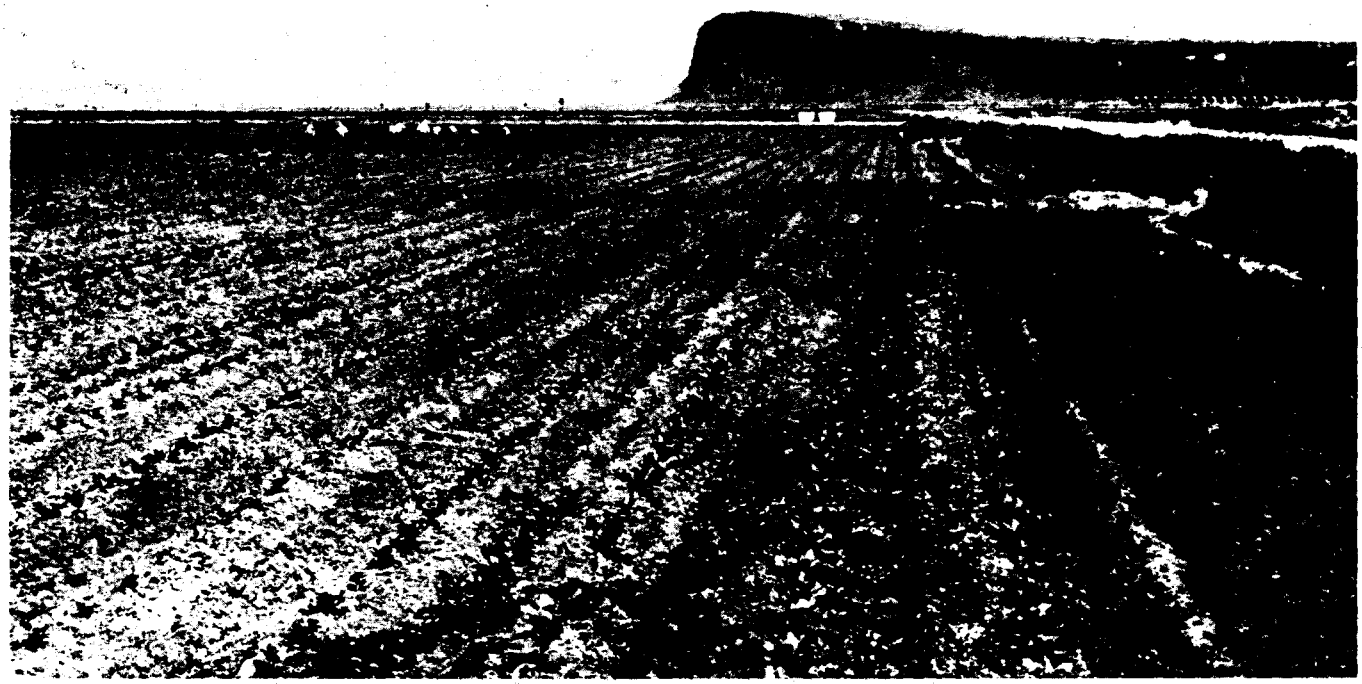
100,000 Japs Now Cleared From Coast

Almost 100,000 Japanese have already been moved from their West Coast homes and farms, or are under orders to be moved, the Wartime Civil Control Administration reported here yesterday.

WCCA officials said 94,330 are now in assembly or relocation centers, 2342 are being moved, and 3035 have received orders to evacuate within the next 10 days.

San Francisco Chronicle, May 20, 1942.





We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men. They came into this valley to work, and they stayed to take over.

Austin Anson, Managing Secretary, Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association of Central California, quoted in *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1942.

(The following is the substance of a talk given recently by Milton Rosen to members and friends of the Progressive Labor Party in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, New York, and Chicago.)

The Struggle for Socialism—A Matter of Life and Death

"Fighting back is winning..."

LOOKING AROUND THE ROOM IT IS GOOD to see so many old friends. And it is most inspiring to see all the new members and friends. Judging by the large turnout at meetings like this it is apparent that the ruling class' efforts over the past 30 or 40 years to stamp out the ideas of Marxism-Leninism has failed. Obviously, the growth of our party is another indication that the ideas of revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat—are growing.

This should give us great confidence in our outlook. U.S. bosses have been—and are—spending billions to propagandize their line, which amounts to a tidal wave of anti-communism. Additionally, scores of members and friends of our party have spent time in jail during the past years because of their persistent fight for socialism.

We could ask ourselves the simple question, how come the bourgeoisie spends enormous sums of money and arrests hundreds of communists for their activities if, as the ruling class claims, "no one is interested in communists or socialism"? The answer is simple! They are afraid of communists and their ideas. These ideas have always carried great weight with workers and their allies in our country, and in countries all over the world.

What should the nature of our commitment to revolution be?

By now most of our members and our friends realize that the fight for socialism is going to be a long, hard fight. But we should understand that this fight is the most important thing we can do with our lives. **The fight for revolution transcends all other important things.** It is more important than getting married, more important than having children, more important than having a job or getting a degree. Not that these things aren't important. Obviously they are. But the fight for worker's power is **most important!** This is because the class struggle affects each and every one of us. No one can escape its consequences; no one can sit on the side-lines and simply watch it go by. Our society is a class society. The ruling class and the working class are locked in a life-and-death fight.

Is the last statement an exaggeration put foward by a zealot? Or does it actually reflect the reality of the world we live in? Briefly, reviewing modern times, it would appear that the statement holds up. World War II which was launched, essentially, as a war to destroy the first workers' state—the Soviet Union—resulted in the deaths of around eighty million people. Thirty to forty millions were killed in the Soviet Union, over twenty million were killed in Germany, tens of millions were killed in Asia and elsewhere. Around a half billion people were casualties. I know that most of you are young people so that you have never seen a country devastated by war. Virtually the entire population is scarred. Many of you are unaware that over 250,000 U.S. soldiers were killed during W.W. II and over one million were wounded. And I am sure you realize that the U.S. was **minimally** involved in the war.

In 1962, Fidel Castro made the famous Second Declaration of Havana speech. In it he said that "over two million people die in Latin America" each year as a result of U.S. imperialism. This is probably an underestimation. But ten years and 20 million people later the ravages of imperialism continue.

In the late fifties, U.S. bosses launched a war in Korea to protect their interests in Asia. Thousands of U.S. troops were killed and tens of thousands wounded. Millions of Korean lives were snuffed out. And, of course, you are all most familiar with the recent history of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. Several millions of Vietnamese were killed, millions more wounded and the entire population was involved in the war. Fifty thousand U.S. troops were killed. And over a half million wounded. Most of these casualties came from the working class. These points are not made to depict the horrors of war but to show

le the Massage Parlors

—Today: Lindsy Van Gelder Tells How the Girls Are Hired • Page 3

New York Post

FOUNDED 1801. THE OLDEST CONTINUOUSLY PUBLISHED DAILY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CITY LATE OVER THE COUNTER

Vol. 171
No. 279

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1972

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Report Half of City HS Pupils on Drugs

By Bernard Bard

Almost half of the city's high school students are drug users, a special state commission on education estimated today.

And in the junior highs, grades seven through nine, the estimate of student drug users was given at 20 per cent.

To combat the drug-abuse "epidemic," said to be at 45 per cent in high schools, the state's Fleischmann C[illegible] proposed

or use mathematics — in large part because their teachers never got specialized training in college in imparting those skills, it said.

Many gifted children, the commission found, have their talents dry up because special programs for them don't begin until too late—in high school—if at all.

And "at least half" the exceptionally bright c[illegible] dren are never id[illegible]

the horrors of imperialism, and the absolute necessity to smash it.

THESE WARS ARE A PARTIAL LISTING OF the atrocities of imperialism, out of the country, and a partial reflection in our country. Additionally, the price of imperialism is catastrophic in our every-day lives. The price of racism is enormous, not only for the minority people but for **all** people. The world knows from Hitlerism that the master race "theory" didn't just mean the elimination of six million Jews. As I pointed out, the **total** casualties were huge.

Infant mortality for black babies is far higher than for white babies. So it means thousands upon thousands of black babies' lives are snuffed out each year because of racism. But racism affects every **facet** of life adversely. And all of these aspects of racism limit the development of life, and often life itself.

Industrial accidents each year result in the death and maiming of more workers over the years than U.S. casualties in all wars in which the U.S. has been involved.

Unemployment isn't a life booster. And we know each year—even in the "good" ones—millions are unemployed. Rotten medical care, which is particularly intensified by racism and anti-working class ideas, is par for the course. Almost all of us know what it means to go into one of those high-class butcher shops called hospitals.

In today's **N.Y. Post** the headline blares forth that over half the high school students in N.Y.C. take drugs in one form or another. The study points out that 20 to 30% of junior high school students are on drugs. This means that ten and eleven-year-old kids are getting hooked. Many of you young people don't have children yet. Some of you do, and you have to send them to these schools where drugs are being pushed. You know how you must hold your breath and hope that your kid won't get hooked. Those of you who have seen kids wasted in front of your eyes know the horrors of drugs.

Drugs are man-made. It is because of this filthy system that they exist, and are spreading. Naturally, we warn and explain to our kids not to use drugs. Only the elimination of this system will cure the drug problem. The ills of this system are endless.

If we were to go around the room I am sure that almost everyone could recount some serious incident in their life which would show how imperialism adversely affected them.

Why we fight

Some of us think that some how or other we can escape the consequences of imperialism. "These things referred to haven't happened to me." Or, "if they did they were minor, and I was able to shake off the affects. So the reason I am involved in this work is that I'm a 'good guy' who is out to help the next person."

Very often people in our party and some of our friends develop a detached method of work. They sort of rise above the class struggle. They become very abstract and "objective" about all matters. One reason this happens, as I indicated, is that they feel they and imperialism are not really on a collision course. They tend to become the reincarnation of Albert Schweitzer. It is almost as if he appeared in their dreams and encouraged them to continue in this missionaryism, but under a red banner.

If we believe that imperialism is just bad for "someone else," our commitment is very superficial. It's like the Alka-Seltzer ad, "try it; maybe you'll like it." This type of commitment will not, and cannot, lead to long-range struggle. This is because we have no life-and-death outlook. We are part of the working class and its friends, and we will share the same consequences of imperialism that they do. Often it is **our** life which is on the line as much as anyone else's.

I'm not trying to make a case that our motivation should be selfish. Naturally, the idea of "serve the people" is valid. If we place ourselves above the people we will retreat from our political commitment.

ANY FORM OF RETREAT FROM OUR COMmitment to the class struggle is bad, not only for our class **but for us.** It is especially bad because once someone has reached the political development of recognizing the need for revolution and retreats from it, it is a set-back for the working class. It is a set-back for yourself. Communists should know the consequences of the system for themselves and everyone else.

Some people say, "I'm bored." Others say "I want to be free to lead my own life." Some will say they are "tired." People will say, "Workers are rotten;" or "they will never learn." Still others will say, "Everyone is rotten." And others will develop "differences" of such imagined magnitude that they can rationalize their dropping away. In most cases this will happen because people don't really believe the life-and-death nature of the struggle. If the same people fell out of a rowboat in the Atlantic Ocean, they would fight like hell—to the last gasp of air—to get back into the boat. Their arms would go up and up, over and over, trying to clutch the side of the boat so they could save their lives. **That** fight they wouldn't find boring!

Or, if you went to the doctor and he told you to brush your teeth every day and take a pill which would help you, you would brush your teeth and take the pill. Now I am all for brushing your teeth and taking medicine to help yourself. However, fighting the ruling class for socialism, against racism and for "30 for 40" is more important. **Not to engage the ruling class in struggle is a form of suicide.**

It is like telling the bosses, "I may not like you but I'm not going to do anything about it." You are telling them that they can do anything to you, your family, and your class and you won't place an obstacle in their path. History has taught

us that they will go after you—as they do to all people—in their quest for profits. The only way to lessen—and to end—casualties is **to fight and destroy imperialism.**

A young mother in our party—mirroring others—told me recently, "I've been thinking of dropping out. I agree with the line, but things are different with me now. I have two children. What will happen if my husband and I get arrested? Who will take care of my children?"

Certainly the dangers and fears she raised are real. In a war there are casualties. And we know communists are often casualties. But will stopping fighting end casualties? Will it achieve safety? Even on its own terms—which are opportunistic—it won't succeed, because **imperialism isn't so discreet.** As I indicated before, it doesn't simply pick and choose communists. It attacks the working class and its allies. Obviously, the 50,000 GI's killed in Vietnam weren't in our party.

But it would seem to me that to be a good parent, friend, and devoted to your entire family would require **the highest commitment to your class.** What kind of a parent are you if you send your kids into drug houses, or into the world, without trying to do anything except give them good advice? Telling a child "drugs are bad," without trying to crush the system which fosters drugs, is like fighting for your kids with one finger.

If being a good parent equals giving them food, clothing, and shelter plus some advice, then this would make Ted Kennedy or any Rockefeller the best parents in the country. They can give their kids the **most** of those things. No, to be a good parent means being **a staunch fighter for your class.** The ruling class kills and kills for its class interests. They don't care how many people are killed and maimed so they can make a buck.

SOME TIME AFTER THE ATTICA REBELlion, Rockefeller was questioned by a liberal reporter about his role concerning Attica. The reporter pointed out that Rockefeller hadn't visited the jail as the prisoners and others thought he should. The reporter thought that his wanton killing was indiscriminate and unnecessary. Rockefeller's answer showed that he recognized on which side of the bread **his** class interests were buttered. His answer was, "If we didn't stop them at Attica, this thing would have happened all over the country and the world. We had to kill them to prevent rebellion from spreading." Do we recognize **our** class interests as well? History has shown that workers and oppressed people fought for their interests. This will not change now!

To repeat, the question of commitment is a question of life or death. The ruling class has won an important victory if they can compel you to lessen or end your struggle against them. They are only too happy if you remain neutral in the class struggle. They realize they will not be able to win everyone to their ideas. Consequently, **neutrality is a victory for them.**

In the class struggle, there is no neutrality; you are either on one side or the other. The suicide that I referred to is not the same absolute thing as a person instantly taking his own life. But that form of suicide, like using drugs, is a surrender to the burdens of life imposed on people by bosses. Don't let them win by default! Create the conditions for their defeat by fighting harder!

The Working Class and The Fight For Revolution

The ruling class has gone to great pains over last 20 years or so to indicate to us that there is "no working class." Their various fops in the old movements and in the new movements have taken up the cry for them.

In past years, we were given a barrage about the "disappearance of the working class." When this notion was defeated, mainly by us, they came up with a new one—there was a "new working class." The basic idea of this was that there wasn't an industrial working class anymore, that this class was "replaced" by technicians, and revolutionaries should not chase the "phantom" industrial workers. We were told to concentrate on technicians and other professional types.

Surely, these forces are important to the revolutionary process, and we are working amongst them. But to abandon the entire working class would be a **sure loser** for revolutionaries. No one knows this better than the bourgeoisie. Recently, in the **New York Times** there was a series of articles on its "op-ed" page commemorating the 125th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. There were articles by the likes of "Professor" Marcuse. (One wonders what makes one a "professor.") Others were self-called or **N.Y. Times**-named Marxists like Diljas from Yugoslavia, a long time renegade and anti-communist.

The gist of these articles was that Marx, and, of course, Lenin were "great thinkers." They say they were "the most brilliant men in the history of mankind." Some waxed poetic about Lenin's ability to make revolution. However, their ideas were "flawed." It wasn't their fault as they could not realize the future years ahead, no matter how smart they were. They couldn't "foresee" the advent of TV, washing machines, dishwashers, and sports cars. You know, things all the "ex-workers" now own. Therefore, their ideas are old-hat, because there aren't workers anymore; or the working class is so unrecognizable that it is no longer revolutionary.

A few weeks later, the same dreary **Times** ran a story in its Sunday Magazine section about the Maoist movement in France. In evaluating the Maoists the author of the article makes this point: "Everyone would probably agree, from the Maoists themselves to those in the Government, that to consider the importance of the Maoists today, you have to take into account the effects of the May Days of 1968 when France was, in fact, exceedingly close to genuine insurrectional anarchy. 'Yes, 1968 frightened the whole country; one moderate and highly-placed civil servant put it to me. 'For the bourgeoisie, for the state, for capital, it raised the spector of a real revolution

Cops couldn't make it through barricades of Parisian workers and students in May 1968.

which observers abroad still gravely underestimate.' In May, 1968 the Government was forced to step in and destroy the revolt while it still had the chance to do so."

The author would have added some more insight to his article if he pointed out that in those days of May, De Gaulle, then President of France, was unable to rely on the French Army, which was composed of workers, to put down the revolt of workers and students. He flew to Germany and met with the newly-formed West German General Staff to get them to intercede for the French bosses if the "Communist" Party of France was unable to dissuade the workers from their aims. (Shades of the Paris Commune!)

At the time, the French "C."P. attacked the revolutionary upsurge of the French workers as a "provocation." They attacked the unity of students and workers. They tried mightily to shunt the thrust of the working class for revolution into a fight for a 5¢ raise. Finally, the French workers, without a revolutionary party which could help bring their aspirations to fruition, succumbed to bribery and police terror.

This article makes clear that workers in a modern industrial country, despite Peugots, TV, et al, can bring the bosses to their knees, and—with a revolutionary party at the head of the working class—**can seize power.**

THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT WORKers all over the world are attracted to socialism, to the dictatorship of the working class. They are attracted, not because it is some gimmick or a get-rich scheme, but because socialism is the **only set of ideas which matches their aspirations.**

Many of us who have a slim grasp of the recent history of our country underestimate this phenomenon. In 1946, or so, I got out of the army. Soon after, some friends of mine tried to involve me in a May Day parade. I really knew nothing about May Day. I think I thought May Day had something to do with spring flowers in the park. A whirl around the maypole. Well, after some insistent persuasion, and badgering, that I ought to go and march, I did. I arrived at an assembly point in the uptown area of New York. This was about 9 a.m. As most of you know, there is a lot of confusion and waiting around till a parade starts. Finally, about noon, we marched off. I think I was in a union group. Later in the afternoon we passed the reviewing stand in Union Square. I was already enthralled because I had already seen thousands of workers marching. I had become infected with their spirit and enthusiasm.

To make a long story short, I remained near the reviewing stand well into the night. The area had been lit up, as thousands of workers continued to pour through. And even though the Communist

Party had done a rotten job connecting May Day to socialism, most people had gotten the idea that their marching had something to do with socialism. The sight of tens of thousands of workers marching was an inspiration not soon to be forgotten.

Around 1959, the New York Central Labor Council called for a Labor Day march. (Labor Day was the bosses' and their labor flunkies' answer to May Day.) At the time, the CLC was in some kind of fight with the local Democratic politicians, who they and the "C."P. slavishly toddled after. The CLC figured a little show of strength, perhaps twenty-five to fifty thousand workers, would get them a few more jobs for labor moguls from the bosses.

Well, to their great surprise, **and concern**, about 150,000 turned out! Thousands of others watched. There was such great enthusiasm in the parade that the labor skates were pushed into calling for another parade the following year. This time 300,000 turned out. Over 500,000 watched. Well, this was too much. This scared the shit out of the bosses, and their flunkies. Three hundred thousand workers marching could bring some obvious ideas into the workers' minds. That was the last parade they ever called.

Even in viewing this current two-bit election one can see the great concern about how workers think or act. There are endless articles trying to evaluate workers' moods. There is a host of speculation of which bum the workers will vote for or not and why vote at all. Many candidates are trotted out to appease this or that trend amongst workers. Yes, the bosses may try to build the idea that there are "no workers"; or that workers aren't really workers at all. But the truth is, **they are scared to death of the workers.** Bosses have drawn the lesson of history, and the current lesson of France. **Workers are for real, and they can win power.**

Create A Political Center

Surely, all experiences in the class struggle have pointed out that workers and their allies need a political center devoted to leading the class struggle to socialism. A political center which calls itself communist must have the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It must be able to lead in the day-to-day fights, and, when the situation calls for it, move decisively for state power.

We witnessed, in France, the inability of the workers to seize state power, when it **was** possible. The political center of the workers was bankrupt. The "C."P. of France was the most reliable political force the ruling class had to control the workers. However, it is hard for all of us to see how the things we do over and over again will lead to this.

Firstly, by conducting consistent forms of class struggle we learn invaluable lesson from the people. We learn to evaluate events, our relation to them. We try to draw the right conclusions and develop our next actions.

Secondly, we reach tens of thousands of people, if only fleetingly, with a revolutionary line. Thirdly, we are always in a position to sharpen the class struggle, move people to the Left, and win some to a revolutionary outlook. In other words, we must win and earn the confidence of the workers and others by consistent, painstaking and serious work. There are no short cuts, or easy ways to do this. A political center—a revolutionary party—must be built in the **actual development of class war.** This is a reason we sell CHALLENGE-DESAFIO over and over again. This is the reason we must learn to develop relations and actions with those who do not agree with us on many things, but who **do** agree with us on some things. These are life-and-death activities.

TO BECOME "BORED" OR INDIFFERENT about them means capitulation, and an end to your own needs; an abdication of class responsibilities.

In this period, our party has estimated that what is vital to build this center, in addition to open socialist agitation, is to launch mass movements for "30 for 40," and against racist ideology and its manifestations on and off campuses. We have deduced for many reasons (which we have spoken of at other times) that this is the next step in the class struggle. We deem it crucial for the workers' lives, and our own, that we try to launch these movements. Eventually we will win the leadership of the mass movements.

Since we launched our limited efforts against racism on the campuses, some successes have occurred, although many of you recall how many people in our party, and some of our friends, said that "nobody is interested in this issue." As a matter of fact, there is still an undercurrent of this, even though some progress has been made. Hernnstein was given a long rest by Harvard to bone up on his "theories." Jensen was sent to Australia from the Univ. of California, to peddle his wares there. (Let's hope the Australian students give him more of the same treatment that he got at U.C.) Stanford dropped Shockley's course as too "controversial." They told him to stick to physics. Halsted's course at UB, the Univ. of Buffalo, has been, for all intents and purposes, dropped. You can only get into it if you're "screened." It is unpublicized, and hidden from view.

Recently, Christopher Jencks, a leading "thinker," backtracked for the bosses. He indicated that maybe the genetic "theory" of inferiority wasn't quite up to snuff. Instead of that washed-out line, he came up with a new one. He claims unemployment and poverty aren't really a question of "genes," but are questions of "luck and personality."

In the current issue of **Fortune** magazine, one of the leading bosses' periodicals, there is an article called, "Social Engineers Forced To Retreat." It describes, somewhat, the anti-racist campaign. It tells about how these "engineers" have been forced to retreat by the "militants." The article ought to be called "Racist Slobs Forced To Retreat, With a Little Shove."

Lately, in a struggle on an eastern campus by

black workers for improved conditions, the bosses tried everything to break it. They tried to pit the white workers against the black workers. That failed! They tried to win students to believe that a strike by the black workers would "ruin the school," hence their education. That failed! The bosses brought in a high-class labor relations man/strike-breaker to stop the workers. That failed! Finally, the workers won virtually all their demands as the administration's attack collapsed. Some of the black workers said that an important tactic enabling them to win was the SDS anti-racist campaign.

Last year, a comrade of ours, Bonnie Bluestein, was expelled from Harvard. She was a good student so the committee that expelled her was forced to do their dirty work on openly political grounds. She had been active in anti-war and anti-racist actions. At the recent Harvard-Boston College football game, the Harvard band did the following at half-time: They spelled out the word "exile," and played the song **My Bonnie Lies Over The Ocean**—"Bring back my bonnie to me." Of course thousands of students watching knew what was happening. They knew about the expulsion of Bonnie, an open PLP-SDS member. And they knew of the appeal by hundreds of students and faculty people at Harvard to get her back.

In the meantime, she has helped organize an important anti-racist movement against Banfield, who has been transferred from Harvard to the Univ. of Pennsylvania to mouth his Hitlerite ideas. As a matter of fact, a recent U. Penn school paper had the following story on its front page; "Banfield's Arrival at U.P. Causes Unheavenly Controversy."

CERTAINLY, PEOPLE ARE AWARE AND interested. Of course, the bosses can be made to retreat on all fronts.

Our experiences in the "30 for 40" campaign are similar. At the beginning, we had a hell of a job winning ourselves to understand that workers would be interested in this issue. After all, the entire history of U.S. workers can be traced to their efforts to win the shorter work-day. A worker in California said that he didn't feel he was doing anyone a favor to fight for 30/40. His grandfather had fought for the 12-hour day. His father had fought for the 10- and 8-hour day. The least he could do to dignify their fight was to fight for the 6-hour day. And when this is won, he surely would benefit from his and others efforts.

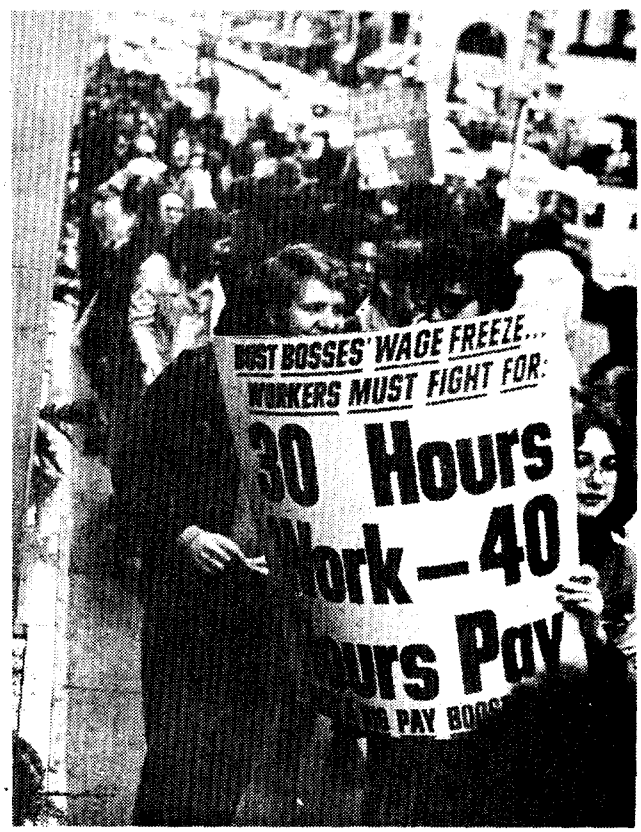
Most significant is that since the development of the Worker's Action Movement, which has made the fight for 30/40 its main tactic, tens of thousands of workers have signed petitions endorsing this idea. Many local unions and caucuses now advocate it. Auto worker locals are in the forefront. Steel workers' locals have called for 30/40. This initial surge can become a torrent which can wash away bosses' efforts to roll back history. Currently, bosses are trying to bust the eight-hour day.

Naturally, we understand that winning the 30-hour week is not the end of capitalism. But we **can** link the fight for 30/40 to the goal of socialism. Many workers and others can be won closer, and into, the party during this fight. This process is already in its toddling stage. Make no mistake about it—**30/40 is a blow to the bosses.** It will take a sharp and long fight. **Thousands of workers will be won to revolution in this fight.**

What is Winning?

Some people say, "This is all to the good, but we can't win." I ask them what they mean by winning. The answer often is that "we can't win socialism." They reason that because the Soviet, then the Chinese and other leaders, have betrayed the working class, it is "impossible to win." Consequently, if we can't win socialism, "Why should we fight?"

Firstly, we will win **nothing** if we quit fighting the bosses on a day-to-day basis. As I pointed out, **they have won if we quit fighting.** Sure, a crucial aspect of our fight is for socialism. But we have learned that even if socialism is won, **the class struggle goes on.** Lenin pointed this out years ago. The class struggle is **more than a lifetime struggle. It will go on long after we do.** I want to be frank. It is possible that we will not live to see socialism in our country. But to achieve socialism in our lifetime, or not, means fighting for 30/40, against racism, for internationalism by



Members of Workers Action Movement and other groups picket NYC Nixon Headquarters.

helping to build a better international, and to build our party.

We must ask ourselves two questions—did the early revolutionaries in Russia and in other countries have a guarantee of the development of the Russian Revolution in their time? Secondly, did the ideas of socialism come upon us by accident, in a dream. Did a vision come to us in our dreams which said tomorrow when, you wake up, you will fight for socialism? We fight for socialism because others fought before us. We have learned from their battles. And we see that the fight for socialism corresponds to our needs, to the goals of our class. Certainly **the biggest thing we can learn from our earlier comrades is to fight!**

IT IS ALL TOO EASY TO SAY THAT THE MAIN lesson of the past is that all things were bad, and all revolutionaries were crummy. This will only breed cynicism. It is a one-sided view of history. There are key lessons to be learned by negative example from the Russian and Chinese Revolutions. But, don't forget, it was only a short time ago that people, like yourselves, destroyed the zenith of what was then considered the strongest imperialist country in the world. At Stalingrad, communists, and others, laid to rest for all time the theory of the "Master Race." Workers proved that under the leadership of the communists, the "best" the imperialists could field could be wiped out. And they were!!

When I was in the army during W.W. II, there was a training film called the "Battle For Stalingrad." The pictures in the film were incredible. Actual combat photos made by the Red Army were used. The picture showed the enormous forces the Germans had marshalled to destroy the first socialist state. Then they showed what the workers had mustered to defeat them. Endless miles of artillery being brought in from the Urals. The "Red Devils" (Soviet Marines) pouring off the barges from the Volga. Soviet tank columns, 50 miles long, braving Stuka dive bombers. They showed the block-by-block and brick-by-brick defense the Soviets mustered until they reversed the tide of battle, and marched the Nazi bastards away like so many sheep. What they didn't, and couldn't, show was the political commitment of communists and their fellows which propelled them to strike down the Nazi animals.

Perhaps as Khrushchov and other bourgeois figures claimed, Stalin and Beria were cowering under their Kremlin beds. We should learn from their mistakes, and not make them ourselves. But never forget the great lesson to be learned from the Soviet people—**that imperialism can be crushed!**

Nor should we ever forget that many of the current good ideas that reflect our learning comes from the advanced forces in the Cultural Revolution. They have driven home one of the biggest lessons of all: "Rely on the masses." No, we are far from alone. Many, many people all over the world have learned what we have. More will follow, until a new, mightier international communist movement arises out of our efforts, and of many others.

DON'T FORGET THE CURRENT HISTORY OF our country. The anti-war movement never developed perfectly. It wasn't sufficiently anti-imperialist. It was misled by the herd of fakers on the "left," and by the liberals. But we weren't good enough to win the leadership of it. We were not developed sufficiently, either. None the less it was the first time in U.S. history that a majority of the people of our country were opposed to the foreign policy of the bosses. They slowed them down to a walk. Remember, how only a year or so ago, how Nixon & Co. were champing at the bit to land 500,000 troops in Pakistan to support the fascist generals against the soviet and Indian fops.

Red Army ski troops drove Nazis from Moscow's gates- and struck mammoth anti-fascist blow.

They had to stand by and watch much of the Asian sub-continent go.

Don't you think they would like to flood the Middle East with U.S. troops to give them double coverage on their oil interests? Their Israeli stooges and Arab nationalists have not been able to stem soviet penetration into the Middle East. The fact is that U.S. bosses **can't field a reliable army** to do its bidding. They have had to flood it with dope in order to pacify the soldiers, to keep them in line. The anti-war movement and the heroic Vietnamese were responsible for this.

If this movement hadn't developed, with our help, many of you would be stumbling around Karachi now saying; "Didn't I see you at a PLP meeting?" Or many of you might be picking sand out of your ears while patrolling in the desert. **You only win by fighting imperialism on every front, and by linking it to the fight for socialism.** If we live to see Socialism, so much the better. If we don't, we are hurting them, and helping our children to achieve the socialist goal.

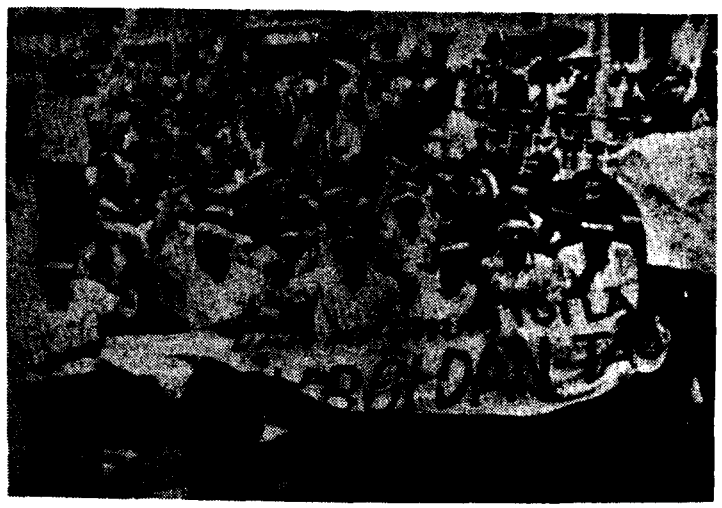
So you can see that **fighting is winning.** And winning in the most specific way today is to build WAM; to build the SDS; to build all mass movements that fight the bosses. And the most important aspect of winning now is to **BUILD OUR PARTY.** Without the party, all other fights are weakened, and there is no way in which struggles can be brought to their logical conclusion—to Socialism.

Sometimes it is hard to see what our own modest efforts can possibly accomplish. We should understand that the collective might of all of us together, and the thousands and millions to come, affect the course of the battle today, tomorrow, and always.

THIS IS WHERE YOU'LL FIND OUR PARTY: in the shops, in the schools, on the streets, in the communities, wherever the class struggle rages—that is where you will find us. These life-giving battles will be strengthened by our greater efforts, and by bringing into our ranks new forces, new energy.

The history of mankind can be traced by the fight of people to make a better life, a better world. **People have never stopped fighting.** This is why systems, and men and women keep changing. The people will **always** win, even if they are momentarily set back. We should not let momentary obstacles cloud our view from the lessons of history. **The people are invincible, and no pack of bosses can alter this fact.**

People's War in Vietnam– the only answer to U.S. boss rule.



Vietnamese carry war to doorstep of imperialists' puppets.

Ten Years on A Ford Assembly Line

The Workers Have A Better Idea...

How did you wind up at Ford?

Well, like everyone else from a working class background, there wasn't really a great deal open to me and they just happened to be hiring at the time. I was looking for a job and they were hiring.

How old were you?

Nineteen—that was 10 years ago—and I've really never thought of going any place else because it's about the same anywhere you would go. One place is pretty much like the next.

Do you have any plans to leave Ford?

No, not really, if it wasn't Ford it would be Food Machinery or General Motors or someplace like it. So it really doesn't make that much difference.

Since you've been there, have there been times when being an auto worker has meant pretty close living—when you wondered whether there would be something to eat in the house?

Oh yes, there are times when there is a lot of insecurity. I've been laid off two or three times. And there are a lot of times when you don't know whether you are going to work from one day to the next. There have been a lot of times when we have worked every other week or three days a week. There is always a possibility of the company just moving from the area. Like to somewhere in the South. You either move along with it or you are out of a job. It's a constant thing.

Your father-in-law worked at Ford, for how long?

Thirty-one years. He started in Oakland and moved with the company. He worked on the assembly line.

What happened when he retired?

Not much really. As far as the company was concerned, they were pretty cold about the whole thing. Guys that he worked with collected money for him, but as far as getting anything from the company—forget about that.

Didn't they give him anything?

Well, they gave him a gold pin—gold color, don't know if it was gold—with the heads of Henry Ford and his two sons. It had 30 years on the pin, which is supposed to be a very big deal. I would have thrown the damn thing in the garbage.

No gold watch or anything?

Well, he didn't qualify for a watch, according to them. Not that a watch is any big thing after 30 years, but to show how cheap they are, you have to have 35 years for a watch. He fell four years short.

Did they give him a party or anything?

No. He had to buy his own cake. The company didn't do anything for him. He went up and talked to the Plant Manager for about five or ten minutes, which is supposed to be another big deal.

Oh, they let him talk to the Plant Manager?

Oh yeah—the first time in 31 years! And they took pictures of the whole thing. I guess he is supposed to frame these now. A big moment in his life.

What did your father-in-law think about it?

Well, I think he was just glad to get the hell out of there. He really didn't place too much importance on it.

What about some of the conditions on the job?

Well, it's just very hard, working on an assembly line for 8 or 10 hours a day. It's mentally and physically brutalizing. You get up at 5:30 in the morning, get on the job, and get on out on the assembly line and work like hell all day long. But I don't imagine that it's really much different than any one else's job. It's all pretty hard.

Is there monotony?

Oh yes, sure, that's one of the hard things about it. It's so monotonous and it bores you. Actually, the idea of a a human being working on an assembly line for 8 hours or 10 hours a day is really sort of barbaric. It really doesn't give you a chance to develop in other areas that you might want to. There are a lot of things you would like to do after work, but you are too tired. You get mad at yourself. But your body and your mind just won't respond after taking that beating all day long.

How often do you work 10 hours a day?

Well, that depends on how many orders the company gets. If they are getting a lot you have to work 10 hours a day. There's no choice on it. Then, of course, when you work 10 hours a day, you never see the sun shine. You go in there when the stars are out and when you get out, the sun has already gone down.

Do you think a shorter work day—maybe a cut-off point at 6 hours a day—would be better?

Oh sure. It would really mean a lot to all work-

ers.

What does the average guy think about society?

At the present time, I don't think that there's that much consciousness. One thing—a guy that works out there—so much of what he does goes into his work, so that when he does get a little spare time, he thinks in terms of relaxing. There's really not much political thinking. Of course, fighting back against the company on the job is a different thing. There's a lot of that and there always has been.

What are some of the things you remember?

If you work out there you have to fight back. The company has such a total disregard for you and they try to hand down so many injustices that only a person who has a total lack of principles and self-dignity wouldn't fight back. Then you become sort of a stooge. Of course, this is where they get a lot of their supervisors—from people like that. This is a small minority.

A lot of them are taken off the line?

Yeah—they are taken from sort of a stooge pool. A guy who really doesn't have any dignity. He'll take any kind of abuse that they have to hand out. This is what they want. It's sort of a thorn in their side, or an aggravating thing to them, that they have to hire human beings that have feelings and that fight back. They would rather deal with machinery or some kind of sponge-like creature because it absorbs punishment. If you don't fight back, you become dehumanized—like a vegetable. So fighting back against the company in this situation is unavoidable. It's just a constant thing. A lot of the things that they hand out are just so blatantly unjust.

Is it automatic that people will fight?

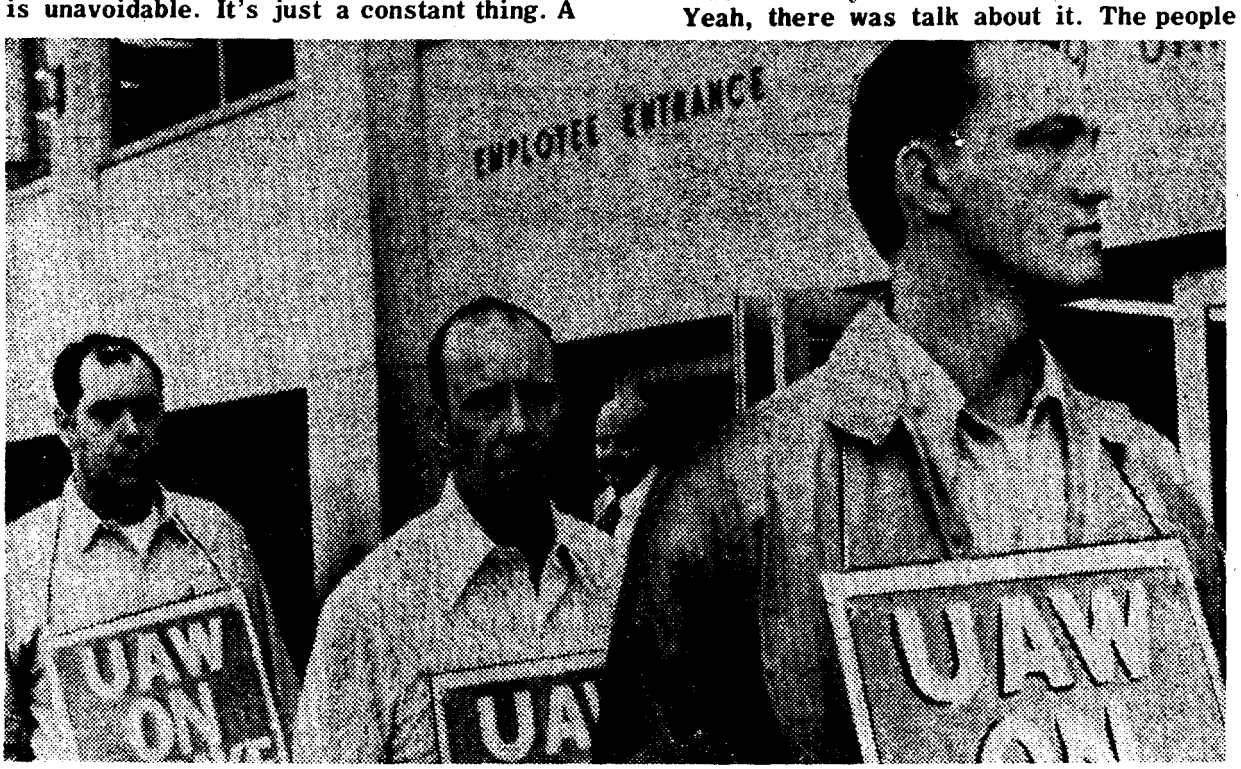
Well, they will if they are provoked, and the company—with its attitude toward workers—will provoke you. In the time I've been there, I've either seen, or been in, two or three examples a day of people fighting back against speed-ups or attempts to put more work on an operation or racism by supervisors toward workers. There have been cases where foremen have made some racist remarks to certain workers and they just got the people together and walked off the job. They wouldn't go back to work because of things like that.

Have you ever been involved in any planned things?

Oh yes. Several of those. One time I can recall, they were trying to add more work to our section and we just got together and really put up a big protest against it—about 15 guys involved in it. There was another time when a foreman wrote a racist remark on the wall in the plant and the guys really protested against that. There are a lot of times when white and black guys get together. One morning a black worker came over to me and asked me to come over to the bathroom and showed me a racist remark on the wall. So we got some guys together and demanded that the walls be completely washed. The company responded immediately when they saw people getting together, not just one or two. That really scares them.

Was there any discussion about it?

Yeah, there was talk about it. The people in-



St. Louis GM strikers have score to settle with bosses and side-kick Woodcock.

volved realized that racism divides working people and that it is bad for all of us. That when the company tries to divide races you can't really fight back against them. A white guy works beside a black worker day in and day out and you form some kind of friendship. And it would be just like offending you. "You offend my brothers and you offend me." One thing that's important too is that workers will criticize one another. When I first went to work, there was a guy who worked next to me and we got into this heavy conversation about racism and he pointed out to me where I was racist. And I think that's really good and healthy. I learned a lot from him.

Have you formed an impression of what guys think about political events outside? In the last 10 years there has been an awful lot going on.

As far as the war is concerned, there's a lot of talk about it. People really realize that it doesn't serve in their interest in any way. They are losing their lives in Vietnam and they have to pay high taxes because of it. My own brother was killed in Vietnam in 1967, and when he was drafted he had an $88-a-week job and he didn't really know whether he was going to work from one week to the next. You ask yourself if that is what you are supposed to be defending—that $88-a-week job that he didn't know whether he was going to have from one week to the next. And the answer is, of course, no. The guy that he was working for is still making big profits, still getting rich, and my brother is dead. So I think working people pretty well know that the war isn't serving their interest at all. If you live in a society where you have an equal stake or an equal share or you are participating in the shaping of that society, then there's something worth defending. But when you live in a society where a very small minority sits at the top and owns everything, really what you are doing is going over and putting your life on the line for what they own—which is absurd.

I remember reading in the paper that when King was assassinated there was a walk-out of auto workers?

Yeah, that was at Ford. The whole night shift walked off.

Black and white workers both walked off?

Yeah, the whole plant.

Was it something where the whites just went along with it or was there some kind of feeling about it?

I think there were a lot of white workers that walked off along with the black workers. I think there was just enough of them to immobilize the place.

What about the grape boycott and other things that have gone on? Do you think there is much support for it and have people appealed to workers at Ford to support causes like that?

There's been a limited amount of support for the grape boycott and things like that, but not really a great deal. It's hard to tell. A guy does it on his own time too, so you don't know. I think that whenever people have been asked to donate or contribute they have always done that. It's always come across very strong. I know myself, I collected food for the grape boycott and workers were always ready to donate.

What about union activity? Is it pretty dead or has there been much action in any of these things? Like rebel slates running for office or real participation from guys on the job?

I think periodically there has been a lot of action but not really a constant thing. Depending on if something will arise and people will get involved and go to union meetings. An issue.

Has there been a caucus?

Oh yes, there have been a lot of caucuses from time to time.

I know a lot of workers do feel cynical. You hear it said quite a bit that you won't succeed with changing things—give up—cynicism. I don't know how deep it is. What have you experienced yourself, or what makes you a little less cynical?

First of all, I think I probably look at things on a long-range basis. I think a lot of things going down now in society—a lot of injustices and contradictions—can't go on forever. I think that the haphazardness of this system is bound to catch up with us sooner or later. There is one thing that makes me really hopeful. I see a big difference in attitude between younger workers just coming in and the older workers that have been there a while. Things are a little more affluent now so that they (the older workers) sort of carry along with a grateful attitude, whereas the younger workers who never really experienced hard times, they come into the working class and they are entering probably the hardest time of their life. A lot of them come from working-class homes which are no longer necessarily real bad (economically), you know, there's enough food on the table, there's a roof over your head, that sort of thing. So, like I said, when they go into the working class they are entering into probably the hardest time of their lives. The things that older workers have accepted like standard procedure, younger workers are appalled by. It blows their minds. They cannot believe the injustice of it and they don't have this grateful attitude, and that's healthy, because I don't think progress stems out of a sense of gratitude about the way things are. Progress always comes from an uneasiness or an attitude that things really need to be improved.

Is that true at Ford?

Oh yeah.

I mean, you wouldn't say that older workers don't fight anymore.

No, I wouldn't say that at all. Like I said, the

fighting is always constant. But younger workers are ready to carry it a step further. They are ready to go further in their protest, in their action against the company. And I think their age is a big thing in their favor too. After a guy has been working for 25 years and getting up in age they get kind of tired. So I think younger workers are a lot more enthusiastic and have more drive.

You mentioned that once in a while there's some action in the union, just a one-shot thing. Somebody gets mad and they go to a union meeting. What do you think is really needed to get things going?

Well, I think first of all, we have to understand that we have to participate in what goes on in regards to the union, and it has to be a constant thing; it can't be a one-time thing—or just when one real sharp issue comes along. We have to go into it with the idea of running the unions—the rank and file running the unions and controlling them. I think that when they originally started, this was supposed to be the idea, but it's really gotten away from that. Just like in so many other areas of leadership, always a great deal left up to a few. Like an overdependency on a few people. I think it turns any movement sour. I think it's turned the past socialist revolutions sour—the fact that you depend on one or two people or a small group of people to run everything. If the movement is going to be successful, it needs collective participation by the rank and file. By everyone involved.

What would be the next thing to do right now, like in your union. Say you start going to union meetings, what would make a difference right now?

Well, I think that just the workers taking an interest in what's happening now in the union, where's their money going, what kind of protection they are getting, and just that they have a real genuine interest in what's happening—like I said, go into it with the idea of running it.

Would you describe yourself as a revolutionary?

I definitely have revolutionary ideas.

How did you get that way?

Well, there are probably many reasons why. I think first of all, probably my background, being raised in the working class, the things that I experienced when I was younger. There were a lot of things that happened to me when I was younger where I didn't really realize the full effect of them. I didn't have a real over-all outlook of society and so forth. There were a lot of unjust things that happened to my family and me where I didn't really realize why they were happening. Then as I got older, I thought about it and things began to fall into place. I think studying had a lot to do with it.

What made you start studying?

I don't know. I guess it was just curiosity about things. I think probably I learned more on my own than I ever really learned in school through formal education. Because some of the schools that I went to were really bad. They were working-class schools—(South San Francisco and Paso Robles, Calif.). But in those schools there is really no effort to teach you anything. They are sort of preparing you for what your role in society is going to be and I remember a lot of times a day would consist of maybe figuring out a few problems for maybe a half-hour out of the whole day and the rest of the day just fooling around. Pretty bad. I guess it was just curiosity.

You just started studying in the last three or four years?

I guess when I was about 20 I started studying on my own.

What?

I think I started out by reading novels—by Steinbeck, Hemingway—and one thing led on to another, different things—for example Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath or like some of the things he wrote about workers and like . . . I think up to a point it was mulling things over and then I think it was people I met at work—a couple of black workers. They talked me into the idea of going to this class that had to do with the Black Muslims. That was around '68 and I was taking a class by a guy that was pretty close to the Panthers at the Free Univ. in Palo Alto.

Were there other auto workers there?

No, in fact I think they were sort of suspicious of me. I told them that I was an auto worker and I am not really sure to this day whether they believed me or not. I think they thought I was a cop. At that time there were not many workers interested in radical ideas. Then, of course, I met someone from the PLP at work a couple years ago. I was pretty well convinced that we needed socialism then, by the time I met Jim. I was pretty well convinced that that was the only answer to the injustices and contradictions that exists.

What led you to that—was it that school?

I think that it had a lot to do with the things I was reading—radical newspapers—things that offered an alternative. And of course a lot of things you just formulate yourself. Just like a logical step.

Have you run into much opposition on your job. Are you pretty open with your views . . . as they have developed?

Yes, there's been a lot of opposition and at the same time there's been a lot of agreement too. Because as you really get into these ideas they are really so good that it's kind of hard for people to argue against them. But, of course, I think a lot of times when there's disagreement it's just people's conditioning that comes out.

Do you think the company has singled you out? Why haven't they fired you?

Because they know that I have a lot of strong friendships with my fellow workers and I think it would really create a lot of problems for them if

William Sanderson

The mighty power of the Flint sit-down strikers, 1937, "put it all together."

they did. If I were isolated and alone I probably would have been disposed of already.

Since you have known about PLP, can you offer some criticism or some ideas about what would have to change before a lot of other Ford workers would become socialist?

Well, probably conditions have to change a great deal before a lot of auto workers would change their political ideas toward socialism. I think you're always sort of dependent, whether you like it or not, on conditions, the way things are.

The Party is one of those conditions, though; if we did better work; maybe it wouldn't be so far off?

Yes, I was going to say, probably the Party line, or the Party attitude has been a little hard in the past. Maybe a little too sectarian, maybe a lack of willingness to struggle at the level that people might be willing to struggle at. But it seems like that's changing now. I think that as things stand right now for most workers, I think things would have to be pretty bad—you would have to reach the point where they wouldn't be eating regularly, you know, things like that, before they switch their thinking to along an alternative society. But what I was saying earlier about the younger workers, I think that the nature of the working class is changing all the time and that it's going to get to the point where the younger workers just won't be able to tolerate the shabbiness of the capitalist system. But that will be some time off in the future.

I don't believe that workers would have to miss a few meals—that's totally a gut thing: if you starve to death, then you go for revolution—there's some people starving to death that are not taking the road to revolution. It seems like **political** conditions could get much more oppressive and hateful. What do **you** think would be the main thing that would cause a lot of working people to change?

Right now their attitude toward capitalism is that they are not really in favor of it and they are not really against it. What do you **think it would take to get them interested in creating a socialist society? If it weren't for the fact that they would lose their homes or jobs by the millions or the fact that they were starving or going hungry.**

I'm not sure that there has to be starvation in order for a person to think, for masses of people to want to fight for socialism. That political conditions in countries like this can become so hateful that you can feed yourself every day but you can't stand to live in it. I think it has happened a lot; for instance, you described how people walked out over King's assassination. That wasn't really

a gut problem but it brought people to act—the black community all over this country. People fought and died that same day, and it was because political conditions became so hateful—all of a sudden it brought everything into focus. Underneath it, of course, is an economic condition. This system can't satisfy us; it can't feed us.

Haven't all the socialist revolutions stemmed from the fact that there was real harsh injustices going down in terms of the people's economic situation—like Russia and China.

Yes.

This is what I was talking about. I think there will be a time when that won't be necessary to create a socialist revolution. I think people are developing in their thinking all the time. And a time is going to come when they just won't be able to tolerate the haphazardness of the system. They will want a system that is proficient and humane. Even though the conditions of their lives might not be that bad. But right now, I don't think the working class is at a point where they will do that. Or they will fight for socialism unless it's for an economic reason.

I don't think people will allow themselves to be pushed all the way back to the China of the thirties or Russia at the turn of the century, those conditions. I think people tolerate less debasement now than in the past. The point of revolution will come a lot closer to the surface. In other words, you are not going to have people put in the Army with no bullets in their guns and just sent charging over hills like they were in the Russian Army. Thousands sent off into battle with no bullets just as a human wave.

So what you are saying is that there is a trend in history where people gradually won't take the abuse that they had in the past.

I don't think it's right to think about the past as a model: "We have to get to this condition before those guys at Ford will want a revolution." I think it's getting hung up in what's happened in the past. This is a new situation.

I wasn't trying to say that, but I think to a great extent the nature of the working class right now is still pretty much at that stage. This is what I mean. Not that we should lean on what happened in the past as the only way that things are going to happen—but what I mean is that the working class hasn't gotten to the stage where they will fight for socialism. Where they will fight for socialism just because it's a better system or that it's a better idea.

I'm not trying to say that people are satisfied and that they aren't going to fight for socialism. I'm not arguing that there's no connection between the need for revolution and economic hardship. In other words, that's not what you need. You put it like you are going to have to miss a few meals before they are going to be thinking along those lines. Seems like you are making it one for one. Miss three meals and you're a communist—and then six meals—you know.

Well, I just used that as an example—there's a lot more involved. But that's more or less my evaluation of where the working class is at right now.

That it's going to take some harder times.

There's still a lot of the old. You know, older workers in this country today were raised pretty much like older workers in Russia and China. Ideas were kept away from them. They thought their role in life was just to work and that's all that they would be good for. This is the idea that they get of themselves. But I see a difference in the younger workers—they don't feel that way. They have a greater consciousness of the world. For a lot of different reasons. The mass media for one and the conditions of his life probably haven't been as difficult. He hasn't been told that he has a definite role—and that was to go out and work and that was it. The older workers in this country--they are still very close and there's a lot of difference between them and the younger workers, a vast difference. Margaret Meade said something that I really agree with. She said everybody before television is very, very different than everybody after television. This is what I've been trying to say.

Labor solidarity mirrored in workers' support of Mansfield, Ohio GM strikers at Cleveland WAM march.

The 1970 Polish Workers' Uprising

(Reprinted from **New Left Review**)

POLISH DOCUMENT — PRESENTATION

The document printed below is a shortened and condensed transcript of a meeting in the Adolf Warski shipyard of the Polish port of Szczecin, held on 25 January 1970 between the leadership of the Polish Communist Party (PUWP) and the mass of workers in the yards, then on strike for over a month. The dramatic background to this confrontation was the proletarian rising which had just broken out in the Baltic ports and had brought down Gomulka. On 13 December 1970, a wide range of price increases in basic necessities for working-class households (food, coal, shoes) was decreed by the Gomulka government, combined with price cuts in consumer durables (tape-recorders, car radios, televisions) bought mainly by managerial and other privileged professional groups in Poland. This social provocation detonated an immediate explosion of popular rage. On 14 December, there was a full scale workers' insurrection in Gdansk, which culminated in the sacking of the local Party headquarters amidst a generalized shut-down of production. On 17 December, the revolt spread to Szczecin, on 19 December to Elblag. Thousands of workers marched in the streets in all these cities, striking and demonstrating against the price increases and those who had decreed them. Gomulka's response was to order the army and police to suppress the rising at gun-point. Tanks, armoured cars and riot troops were rushed into the Baltic towns, and hundreds of workers were mown down by machine-gun fire from tank-turrets and police-units in Gdansk. This sanguinary repression did not halt the revolt: it rapidly became evident that it threatened to widen into an unstoppable national upheaval. Confronted with this danger, Gomulka and his personal coterie were forced to resign by the Politbureau on 20 December. The new administration led by Gierek promptly disavowed Gomulka and promised concessions and reforms to bring the movement in the Baltic to an end. Troops were withdrawn from the main cities and officials everywhere tried to persuade strikers to return to work. However, the Baltic proletariat proved much more resistant than the regime—having made a token retreat—expected. Throughout the month of January, key factories and yards in the ports remained closed, workers refusing to go back until their demands for cancellation of the price increases was met. It was in this situation that, on 25 January, Gierek—flanked by a revealing entourage of functionaries, including not only his Prime Minister (Jaroszewica), but also the Ministers of the Interior (Szalchcic) and Defence (Jaruzelski)—flew into Szczecin to try to stop the strike by personal pleas to the shipyard workers who had insisted on direct confrontation with the Party leadership. The tumultuous exchanges in the assembly of the Adolf Warski yards, printed below, were the outcome.

Two features of the confrontation in Szczecin above all stand out. The first is the elemental directness and power of the **class consciousness** of the shipyard workers, face to face with their political bosses. They speak, through-out, as proletarians—proudly assertive of their class membership and bitterly aware of the travesty practiced by a ruling system which constantly invokes their power in order the better to render them powerless. Their testimony reveals the condition of the working class in Poland today. The delegates from the workshops who address the meeting combine and integrate both economic and political demands. First of all, there is a unanimous insistence that the price rises must be cancelled. Their impact on working-class homes emerges brutally from the stark wage-levels of the panel-beaters, welders, varnishers and others of the Warski yard. The delegates denounce, with no less vehemence, the atrocious work-conditions on the hulls—where safety is minimal—and the general lack of the simplest hygienic facilities which they have to endure. Retirement ages are too high; overtime is too long. Moreover, and above all, the managerial and office strata reap vastly superior incomes, funnel their children into the best positions in the educational system, and enjoy dictatorial power in the factories. Fundamental **egalitarian** demands for the abolition of the material privileges of managers and bureaucrats have never been voiced so clearly and vibrantly by workers since the early twenties in Russia. The Szczecin proletariat, through its yard delegates, demonstrates a firm and blunt awareness that these privileges tend to create a new class stratification based ultimately on the division between intellectual and manual labour. Again and again, they point out that it is the surplus produced by their sweat that finances the luxuries of the directors, and the weapons of the militia, who tyrannize over them. Thus their economic demands are indissolubly linked to **political** aims,

which necessarily encompass the whole nature of the Polish State. The workers, first and foremost, call for an end to bureaucratic mendacity and manipulation of the communications system: they demand **free information** as a basic right of any socialist society. (The constant and central repetition of this demand in the Warski yards fully confirms the Czech oppositionist Pelikan's insistence, in his recent interview in NLR 71, that abolition of censorship is by no means just an 'intellectual's' slogan in Eastern Europe, but expresses a vital need of every worker). Next, they call for the dismantling of the hated police corps whose prime function is to terrorize and intimidate the masses, to deter them from any open protest about their condition. Lastly, they seek genuinely democratic elections throughout the Party, State and Trade Unions—in other words, a complete overturn of the whole authoritarian pyramid of command which rules Poland today. The Eastern European proletariat has never spoken a clearer class language than in this spontaneous programme for its own liberation.

Confronted with these demands, how do the bureaucratic dignitaries of Party and State react? The second striking feature of the transcript lies in the frantic demagogy used by Gierek, Szlachic, Jaruzelski and others when under pressure from the masses—a demagogy which provides an unusually intimate insight into the mechanisms of ideological mystification in the Eastern European countries. Lachrymose disclaimers of personal responsibility for errors or crimes are combined with scapegoating of past colleagues. Economic 'difficulties' are invoked without explanation of the reasons for them, but with lavish tributes to the USSR for its fraternal aid. The thuggery of the militia becomes sober respect for 'law and order,' that is only exercised against 'thieves and looters,' not honest citizens like the yard delegates. The dangers of German military encirclement are adroitly conjured up. The plight of the soldiers, professionally obliged to do night exercises, is contrasted with the comforts of workers, who actually get paid to do overtime (**sic**). The spectre of Latin American-type military putsches is brandished, to justify the 'discipline' of the Polish Army in obeying Gomulka's orders to shoot down workers. Above all, every party or governmental boss invariably appeals to their own working-class origin or that of the police and military troops used against the workers in the Baltic ports. Standard capitalist ideology always uses the language of 'national unity' and 'democrary' to confuse and mystify workers in revolt against bourgeois society: playing on the reality of parliamentary liberties to conceal the dominion of capital behind them. Bureaucratic ideology used the language of 'proletarian solidarity' and 'class brotherhood' to reconcile workers to their repression by police and army: playing on the reality of the working-class background and origins of the State to mask its confiscation by a privileged bureaucracy. The Polish workers' knowledge that they do not live in a capitalist system is systematically turned against them, to perpetuate their own oppression. Gierek's long past as a miner—indubitable social birthmark which he shares with Ulbricht (a carpenter), Gomulka (an oilworker), Gheorghiu-Dej (a railway-man) and Tito (a locksmith)—is dexterously used to deflect scrutiny from his present power. In the event, the combined effects of these appeals, pleas and exhortations succeeded in getting the Warski workers back to the yards on 25 January. But the strikers themselves make it very plain, throughout their meeting with the masters of the Polish State, that the latter have lost forever the trust that was once possessed and liquidated by their predecessors of 1956. The suspicion and tension of the delegates is vividly revealed, even in the final exchanges. Symbolically, after the strike has been called off and the meeting is formally declared at an end, an anonymous worker recalls the departing assembly to the memory of those who died to achieve proletarian liberties in December.

The working-class upsurge in Poland did not end with the strikes in the Baltic ports. Soon afterwards, the metal-workers in Lodz and other central manufacturing towns—predominantly women—downed tools: and in the face of this new unrest, the Gierek administration was forced to grant in March what it had refused the Szczecin workers in January—the official cancellation of the price increases. Since then, a precarious calm has returned to Poland. But there can be no doubt of the unfolding logic and direction of the successive upheavals in Eastern Europe. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956, of which the proletariat was the main social force, was still in form predominantly a national revolt against foreign oppression. The Czechoslovak Spring in 1968 was a vast popular movement for internal emancipation, still predominantly led from above by reforming sections of the ruling order. The Polish Rising of 1970 was both a direct working-class upsurge from below, and was aimed squarely at the indigenous bureaucratic system; and it was insurrectionary in character from the start. In fact, it was the first time since 1905 that a spontaneous, mass explosion on the streets has toppled a major Eastern European government, in conditions of continental peace. As in 1905, the government was over-thrown, but the regime remains. The final demolition of its apparatus of coercion and usurpation lies ahead: only an **international** concatenation, in more than one country, will in all probability achieve it.

POLISH WORKERS AND PARTY LEADERS —A CONFRONTATION

CHAIRMAN: Workers of the shipyards, Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee, is here as promised in our Szczecin yards. We extend warm greetings to him. Also present for today's meeting are: the Prime Minister, Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz, the Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Barcikowski,

the Vice-Prime Minister Franciszek Kaim, who is already well known to us, the Minister of Defence, Deputy Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of Szczecin Provincial Committee, Comrade Oblubek, Comrade Szlachcic (Minister of the Interior), and other representatives of the Party leadership, the administration and the unions. I apologize for the inadequacies of tonight's organization, but we were taken a bit unawares by the timing of the meeting; I'm sorry, and undertake to be better prepared in future . . .**(speaks quietly to Giersk—applause)**

GIEREK: In the future there won't be any need to hold meetings like this. **(Shouts and stirring in the hall)**

CHAIRMAN: No Meetings? But Comrade Secretary, we feel you have honoured us with your presence . . .

GIEREK **(interrupting):** Yes, but not meetings like this. **(Turmoil and shouting)**

CHAIRMAN: The President of the Strike Committee, Comrade Baluka, has the floor to read the workers' demands.

BALUKA: These are the strikers' demands **(reads)**

1. We demand that food prices be returned to the level of before 12 December 1970.
2. We demand, following the workers' wishes expressed in all departmental meetings open to all workers, that there be immediate legal elections to trade-union posts and to the Workers' Councils; also, following the wishes of the majority of Party members, that there be democratic elections in the Party and youth organizations, both on departmental level and for the whole enterprise. We would like the provincial authorities of these organizations to guarantee the application of this demand within a strict time limit.
3. We demand that workers receive their full pay for the period of the strike.
4. We demand that the shipyard management and the national authorities give guarantees of full personal security to the strikers and members of the Strike Committee both at work and in the town, and that no reprisals be taken against them.
5. We demand that the first secretary of the PUWP (Polish United Workers' Party) Central Committee, Comrade Edward Gierek, and Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewica visit the Adolf Warski naval shipyards to enter into a direct and permanent dialogue with the workers' representatives on the Strike Committee.
6. We demand that we be given honest information on the political and economic situation of the shipyards and the country as a whole, and that the report disseminated on 11 January 1971 concerning productivity undertakings in the tube factory be corrected. (The Szczecin press had published a report that the tube section of the yards had pledged itself to higher outputs, as a manoeuvre to split the strikers—a pure invention that aroused intense indignation among the workers, as a typical example of the brazen lies in the official media.)
7. The correction must be publicized in the same mass media that published the original report. This must be done by 25 January at the latest.
8. We demand that sanctions be taken against those who arranged for tube factory productivity pledges to be reported by the mass media on 11 January.
9. We demand that our claims be reported by the local press and radio between now and 25 January.
10. We demand that the regional authorities of the Party and the Unions, as well as the yard management, guarantee the Workers' Commission formed by the Strike Committee every freedom to perform its function, alongside the Yard Council and the Workers' Council, until the legal elections mentioned in section 2 have taken place.
11. For the members of the Workers' Commission, freedom to perform their function should comprise basically:
a) guarantees on their personal safety both in the yards and outside them;
b) the exclusive use of the radio-telephone network and of the men necessary to maintain and protect it;
c) formation from among its members of a delegation to supervise the carrying out of section 2 of this list of demands.
12. We demand that the security services stop harassing, threatening and arresting workers taking part in the strike. The strike does not constitute an offence: nothing in our laws forbids striking.

Signed: STRIKE COMMITTEE.
(Prolonged applause)

GIERECK: Before replying, comrades, I would like to ask you for a little patience and understanding. I was aware that the situation, in Szczecin and throughout the country, had become difficult—let's say it, intolerable Why? There are objective reasons, such as our serious setbacks in agriculture and the sabotage of the capitalist countries, which make us pay for everything in dollars. But I won't bother you with all that now; because, above all, there are reasons that are the fault of individuals. It has to be said: Comrade Gomulka, in whom we had unlimited confidence for so long, well . . . yes, Comrade Gomulka made decisions that were not correct. And it was impossible to say the slightest thing to him. He always answered: 'You don't know anything about it; I'm the only one who knows . . .' You workers were then told that the government and the Party were always united, unanimous. That wasn't true. There was an opposition. But we couldn't do anything, and the little that we did get was immediately sabotaged from the beginning by the bureaucracy. We warned Gomulka often: we told him that the price of foodstuffs should not be raised; that there were going to be strikes. Gomulka didn't listen to advice. He was far too arrogant for that. What could we do? Resign? At a time

when the economic situation of the country was so bad?

Because perhaps you don't know exactly where we stand. Very well, I'll tell you. We are in an impasse. We are at the end of the line. Just for this year alone, we are short of 2,500,000 tons of wheat. The Soviet Union is selling us 2,000,000 tons, but we absolutely do not have the money for the rest. Now, cattle raising is going to suffer, and we are going to have new troubles with the meat supply. And that's only one small example . . .

Yes, everything is very, very bad. The worst of it is that we don't know how to get out of it. Our investments are much too heavy—23 percent of the national revenue!–but they have already been made. It is impossible to undo what has been done. In addition, we find ourselves at the highest level of population growth in connection with employment. In the next five years, we have to find employment for 1,900,000 young people. Wherever we turn, the situation is blocked. It's impossible to upset the applecart, to tear everything apart. The only solution, believe me, is painful . . . it's hard to say . . . but it is that you work harder and still harder—so that our economy produces its maximum. **(He pauses for a moment)**

So I am talking to you the way I spoke to my miner friends in Silesia. I say to you: Help us! Help me! You cannot doubt my good will. When it was proposed that I take over the leadership of the Party, at first I thought I would refuse. After all, I am 58 years old. In another two or three years, I will reitre. I even have a pension from France and from Belgium, because I worked there 18 years. So I could leave, couldn't I? I am only a worker like you. I worked in the mine pits for 18 years! I don't have any relatives in high places. My relatives slave in the mines—just as I did. Yes, I tell you, I was very much tempted to refuse. But if we had done that, Comrade Piotr (Jaroszewicz) and I, something terrible would have happened . . . Comrades, there would have been a bloodbath!

You will tell me that a bloodbath took place anyway, that there were deaths, many deaths. That's true, and I pay homage to those who fell. But now—and I tell you this in all solemnity, as a Pole and as a Communist—the fate of our nation and the cause of socialism are in the balance. Also, I promise you to grant your demands to the maximum, but I ask certain things of you: for example, to cease the attacks (I know that they are circulating) against the Soviet Union. First, because at the height of the present crisis, Comrade Brezhnev himself phoned Comrade Gomulka in order that the crisis here be settled politically and not by repression. And then you cannot, you must not . . . hit out at what is fundamental for us, what has been decisive and will continue to be decisive to our development: friendship with the Soviet Union.

As to your demands, we will do our utmost. The Party will be renovated; we will get rid of the incompetents. As to lowering the price of foodstuffs, we must be realistic. I tell you, there is no possible way of going back to the pre-12 December prices. **(Stirring, shouts in the hall: 'There is!' 'Why not?')** Because, comrades, in all truth, it isn't possible. But all elected bodies will be democratically reconstituted. That, yes. **(Applause)** So that these bodies are open to all—party members or not! Open even to members of the strike committee, why not? **(Ovations, shouts)** To pay wages for the days you were on strike? That we shouldn't do—not in so difficult a period, while the whole country is at work. I'm going to make you a proposition, however: we agree to pay your wages if, before the end of the month, you fulfil the production plan. Okay? Good.

In addition, I read on your list: give honest information on the political and economic situation. But there has only been too much of that recently, too much of that kind of information. **(Voice in the hall: 'False information, false!')** No! Don't demand of us a democracy . . . as they say . . . for all, for friends and enemies alike! The erroneous reports will be corrected, but it is out of the question, at this time, to encourage agitation among the workers by publishing your demands! The last point concerns the police: if anyone has been arrested for a strike action, it is clear that he has to be released immediately. Thieves, looters, arsonists will have to be punished, but they only.

There you are, comrades, that's what I have to say to you. I know that it can't satisfy you completely. But you must know, you must understand, that that's the limit. Accept it, help us, and on our side, we will do everything we can to ameliorate this tragic situation. That is your duty... **(Applause)**

CHAIRMAN: Who wants the floor? Who is ready? The delegate from department K-1? Yes?

DELEGATE FROM K-1: I would like to ask our higher officials: Can we speak frankly, as Comrade Gierek says? **(Addressing himself to the chair)** Can I speak honestly?

GIEREK: Yes, that's exactly what we're here for.

DELEGATE FROM K-1: Then we can talk as workers do among themselves?

GIEREK: That's obvious.

DELEGATE FROM K-1: Then we can have mutual self-criticism?

GIEREK: Yes.

DELEGATE FROM K-1: Good! Do I have guarantees of safety? You understand, since I'm a worker, I don't know how to speak very well, how to present things... but does Comrade Gierek know that we can no longer count the number of corpses here, because it is hard to calculate how many have been picked up in the street. **(Shouts in the hall)** Oh, it isn't so much the number, but people were falling, bullets were whistling. And those bullets—how were they bought? With money earned by our sweat. That's really too hard to bear!

How is it possible that the working class can be turned against the working class? How is it possible that we were shooting at one another? Because, really, we have one party, don't we? Then why all this blood? And another thing: I know a man whose brother was killed. Now, this man received reparation, but on condition that he sign a declaration saying that his brother had not been killed but died of a heart attack, a labour accident, or some other reason. (**Shouts of anger, applause**) That's not all. Comrade Gierek tells us: there won't be any sanctions against the strikers. Official sanctions, perhaps. But how about other sanctions? **(Shouting)** Actually, they catch the shipyard workers like rats! They jump on them noiselessly, in a corner, behind trees, they beat them up. We had a case in our department: a man was beaten up. It's the truth. His back was all green as a result of the clubbing. We saw it. Why? Simply because he had wanted to note the badge number of the militiaman who was checking his papers...

I ask: Of what use is this militia? To beat up honest people and to take care of 'bluebirds' (parasites)? And it is false to say that they shot into the air. There were two killed and two wounded, not in the street but inside the plant, in front of the administrative building where we were waiting for the manager. We certainly had the right to be there, no? Then why shoot? No, we are not protecting those who set fires and who looted, because we will have to rebuild all that with our money, that's for sure. The financial institutions borrow money from us who work. But I think these methods of the militia have to be changed. And the leaders have to be changed, too—that... that aristocracy that is going to steal everything. **(Ovation in the hall)** If we are really going to elect our officials, we have to get rid of all those people who have elbowed themselves permanently into comfortable chairs, where they sit so long that the seats of their pants become mildewed... because they are useless! We are struggling for that, for a change of officials. Especially at the base. It's like a fish—it's the head that starts to rot first, but it has to be scaled from the tail. All this is not against Comrade Gierek. I've finished. Thank you.

DELEGATE FROM K-2: I want to go back to the events. So many young people have been killed, shot from behind—not from in front—in the back, in the head. There is proof. I am an eyewitness! And then, those killed in the street have been wrapped up in nylon bags and buried in secret, like cattle. **(Applause, shouts)** But, believe me, the people will not let this go by—they will check everything, even in the cemeteries. Everything will be accounted for. Everything! And in my opinion, Comrade Gierek should take matters in hand and punish the guilty with the greatest severity. **(Applause)** That's all...

Excuse me, there are still the demands. In my opinion, Comrade Gierek has promised us nothing; he has said that the economic situation was too difficult. It is well known that we Poles know how to work—here as well as abroad... So we must give him a chance—we must give Comrade Gierek a chance. Of course, at the time we also trusted Gomulka. Only nothing came of it—nothing was accomplished. But, in my opinion, Comrade Edward is the right kind of man. Let's give him at least a year or two and we'll see the results... **(Applause)**

BALUKA: K-3? K-3? Not present? Then K-4.

DELEGATE FROM K-4: I am the representative from K-4, which does the actual construction of the ship's hull. Our department works outdoors. That means that in the summer we stew in our own juice; the temperature goes to 70° (Centigrade) and higher. In the wintertime, we can hardly work because the equipment is frozen. When the rainy season comes, there are deaths from electrocution among the welders and shipfitters. We have never been able to get even a two-hour stoppage when it rains, though rain is a

mortal danger for us.

And all that for what? For miserable wages—1,800 to 2,000 zlotys. (The official rate of exchange is 58 zlotys to 1 pound sterling. The real exchange rate is about 100 zlotys to 1 pound sterling. The wages cited above are thus in the region of 18-20 pounds sterling or $43-$48 a month.) The same thing I was earning ten years ago! If you figure it out, for a family of five: breakfast for each, bread and something to drink, that comes to 2 zlotys. In the evening, the same thing: 4 zlotys. The cheapest possible midday meal, 12 zlotys per person, comes to 60 zlotys. Automatically, then, 64 zlotys a day. For the month, that comes to 1,800—almost 1,900 zlotys. And that's only food—bread and drink. But in the yards, the work is hard; the worker has to eat because, truthfully, after 15 years, it's the cemetery. Anything else is impossible. That's it, thank you. **(Applause)**

BALUKA: Comrade, comrade! Your position on the demands?

DELEGATE FROM K-4: Our department is for some kind of raise. And a fixed minimum. If it rains or snows, I don't know if I can earn 1,000 zlotys. I don't know if I'm going to survive until next month. Thank you.

BALUKA: Who gets the floor now?

DELEGATE FROM K-5: Fellow workers, I have to raise this point, It's necessary to work to live; we don't share the good luck of those who live well without working, we're not that sort of people. Fate does not favour us. We have to work to keep alive. But in our departments, the work is unfairly divided, it's not shared out on a democratic basis.

What's more, there are a terrible lot of offices in our section; we're working for six, seven, maybe ten men. Well, come on, why are we working for these people? What use are all these gentlemen? Sometimes a week goes by without me seeing one of them do a hand's turn. It seems they're busy with social matters . . . they only appear to hand us our control sheet. That's all they have to do. Well, what are these people paid for? They're stealing our wages. And that's not all. **(Applause)**

That's not all, mates. These gentlemen have got where they are, not from here, from among us, but via the government, the Party leadership—a long way from us. Those who don't want to speak the same language as us, the workers. And it's our wages that they're sharing out, we provide for them out of our wages. Is that what democracy is? Certainly no! That's my lot. **(Applause)**

DELEGATE FROM W-2: In connection with our demands and in the name of our workers, we have decided unanimously to suspend the strike. To show our full confidence in the Party authorities and the government, we will go along with the decisions taken by the authorities on the demands we have made. As our decision is positive towards the authorities, we would like frank and positive answers to one or two questions.

First, and we would like a clear answer from the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP: is it necessary for blood to flow before the Central Committee of the PUWP and the government can be changed? It seems to us that a decision to limit the duration of office should be considered, to avoid the sort of thing that happened in 1956 and 1970.

GIEREK: I didn't quite catch that . . .

DELEGATE FROM W-2: Must blood flow to change the CC of the PUWP and the government? Shouldn't we consider limiting the duration of office to avoid events like 1956 and 1970?

Second, and again I'd like an answer from someone: people are always talking about so-called high wages in the yards without realizing that they come from too much overtime. We accept that the country's in a difficult situation, but would like to ask how much directors and ministers are getting. We demand an answer. If they're taking home more than twice as much as a highly skilled welder—whose average wage is about 5,000 zlotys—I repeat, if they get more than twice that, our opinion is that their salaries should be reduced and frozen.

DELEGATE FROM W-3: As for these very important persons, other things have to change too. I know an army officer named Szatkowski, an old-timer of the PSP (Polish Socialist Party, fused with Communist Party in 1948). How he worked for the Party in his day! He has been a Party member for 25 years. Now he wanted to see Comrade Walaszek, at the Provincial Committee. He said: 'I'll wait one, two, six months . . . please set up an appointment for me.' The secretary replied: 'No, it's out of the question. You won't be able to see him.' That man went away broken-hearted and embittered. Well, if everybody in power is like that—and they often are—well, it's going to be hard to find a common language with us workers. How are they going to govern us?

As to the demands, the first and most important for us is that a raise in salaries or a reduction in prices must be declared. **(Great applause, ovation, shouts)** That is it.

BALUKA: Comrade, comrade! Speak concretely: are you for or against continuing the strike? That's very important.

DELEGATE FROM W-3: I'm going to ask the others . . . **(Movements in the hall, confusion on the platform, interruptions)**

DELEGATE FROM W-0: Department w-o decides to stop the strike. It's a gesture towards Comrade Gierek, who came here. Thank you.

A DELEGATE: There's one thing that's still bothering me. I hope that the new government's programme is right, that it's worth supporting. It's been mentioned in meetings that the CC sends people who talk to us as if we're now trying to stifle the voice of truth from the top. But everyone here says, quite rightly, that our best weapon is the truth; lies are useless to us. We must carry on in this direction.

Everyone knows that two opposing tendencies have taken shape in the leadership and that they're at each other's throats. If the tendency behind the old policy comes out on top, those of us who started the strike will all end up in the nick, no less! Because in the leadership, in the press, in the provincial committees, there are people who are going to try, bit by bit, to eliminate those in favour of change. We are really worried about this, and with good reason. We'd like to see this dialogue on every level, starting at the bottom and taking in the unions, the yard management and so on right to the top. That way we won't lose face and we won't have to worry about them getting rid of us. For there have been cases of that kind.

For example, I was also a member of our 'Three-man Committee.' We had to carry out the Strike Committee order and find 20 mates for security duty. When I was leading these men, the head of my department came up, grabbed me by the arm and said: 'You'd better pass everything you do through me, or you'll be fixed!" I didn't know what to do and got my comrades together to think about what line to take. Then I said to him: 'Tell the others what you just said to me.' He said he didn't want to. Now, if he wants, he can deny he ever said anything—but how does he look to the workers, as a department head? Can I trust someone like that? I don't think so. We didn't wreck or destroy anything. We tried to keep order, but we were fighting for a just cause. For 25 years, we'd been told that we were in the right; now we're told we're wrong. That's what I can't take.

I'd like to say one thing more. There was a discussion with the yard management about this strike—the director himself said it and it's all down on tape. What Director Skrobot said was: 'All right, you can have a strike, but don't leave the yards.' So we went on strike. We wanted the promises made in response to our demands to be kept. That's not all. If this renewal is really happening, if we can really look one another straight in the face, I'd like to know what the director's getting paid. I don't know if it's gossip or lies, but it's said that Director Skrobot makes 18,000 a month! If it's true, then I think—when people are trying to get a few pennies more—that salaries like that should come down a bit, because some people are living sumptuously while others haven't enough to buy bread. In the present situation we can't tolerate such things! **(Prolonged applause)**

One last point about the deputies: I don't think our deputies are interested in their region. They don't pay the slightest attention to it. Our affairs don't interest them; they never come to the shipyards, not even to hold dialogues like this one. They come at election time though, so that we'll elect them; then they come and tell us that we're quite right, what we say is fair enough, and so on. Otherwise, nothing. Thank you. **(Prolonged applause)**

BALUKA: Comrades, I ask you to shorten your comments and to make known your concrete position on the demands rapidly. Otherwise we'll all still be here at noon! Don't repeat yourselves. Those who haven't as yet consulted their department should do so now. **(Proceedings suspended, stirring in the hall, a rather long interruption)** Next!

DELEGATE FROM W-7: Everyone in W-7 knows that every strike worsens the economic situation of the country, which is not too good in any case. We are resolutely and honestly for an end to the strike and a resumption of work. At the same time, we ask that our continuity of work be guaranteed, so that it won't carry on like now: first we're in it up to the neck and then, for two or three months, there's nothing to do at all—and that hits us in the pocket. We demand that the piecework rates, which already force us to work too fast, should not be lowered any further. Not so long ago—two years or so—panel-beaters were getting 2.70 zlotys a square metre; now they only get 1.10. Varnishers? They still get no rest-periods; it's been my work for 14 years, during which there have been several approaches by the Epidemiological Health Centre, which ascertained that the concentration of vapours is six times the acceptable level. What's more, varnishers only get 0.25 zloty social allowance. What about maintenance workers, their work conditions? They're the very ones who work inside these casings, with the casings closed. That dust! It's clear there's been a lack of technical progress. At one time there used to be scrapers; the scraper is still with us. Work safety and hygiene: we're not provided with masks, we have to risk our health. Obviously no-one takes the slightest interest. Social conditions: there's no space for offices, nor for stores. We haven't even any space for changing rooms. The existing changing room is too small and at present one man dirties another man's clothes, there's no way to avoid it. When people arrive for work they change in the showers, the corridors, everywhere.

DELEGATE FROM SP: There's another problem I'd like to mention, one which irritated the shipyard workers very greatly. Why is it that lately... last Saturday... the shipyards were surrounded by cordons of militia? And why, when their families came in the morning with their meals, did the militia stop them from making contact through the railings with the people inside the yards' **(Applause, angry shouts)** I witnessed it, because I went from the arsenal as far as COKB! I've asked the question, now if possible I'd like it to be answered, perhaps today.

As for our position on the demands—whether or not we go on with the strike—I can't say, because of all the department, which as I've said numbers more than a hundred people, there are only eight of us here. We eight agree that the strike should be suspended. On the other hand, we can't speak for those who are now watching TV or asleep in bed.

DELEGATE FROM CP: As a party member for 26 years and one who has lived in Szczecin since 1946, I would like to answer Comrade Gierek when he tells us that we have to save money, that money is precious in our country. We know that—we've put our own blood into it. But we can take some money back from those who are living too well on our labour. I'll speak plainly, Comrades: our society is divided into classes. There are people who no longer know what to do with their socialism; and they're already looking for something better. Their socialism is like that because they have too much money and too many ways of making money. Even right here in the shipyards! Comrade Skrzynecki was here—at the end of 12 months he's earned 170,000 zlotys and a bit of small change. Not with his fixed basic salary, but with all those supplements, bonuses and so on. I think, comrades, that it's time to stop this. People should be paid for the work they do! Some people, especially the management and department heads, get much bigger bonuses than others; these bonuses should be equalized.

I have another demand. We've been fighting for this since 1945; we must make sure there's no division into classes. But these class divisions start from the top! Why? Because when these bonuses are granted, the divisions are brought in at the start: so much for the intellectuals, so much for manual workers. Isn't that a class division imposed from the top? Is the intellectual worker any different from me? Surely not; he's certainly the same worker and the same man as I am. Why start this sort of thing ourselves? We've been talking about abolishing the inequalities between worker and peasant ever since the Sanacja period (**Sanacja** - 'Cure'—the name of a pro-Pilsudski political movement in the thirties). That's what our struggle is for! And it's a just struggle. Then why are we making this kind of division here? I think some of the money should be taken back and then, automatically, something can be done for those who need bread.

Comrade Gierek, we understand you and trust you totally. We're perfectly well aware of that. But Comrades, up until now **we've been told too many lies**... by the mass media. We weren't being spoken to frankly or openly. These comrates—whether Party members or non-Party—were too conceited, while we were sweating at work. They learned all that in schools we built for them. Comrade Gierek, it is known—I don't know exactly but generally—how much it costs to educate an engineer or any graduate. Where does the money come from? Out of our pockets! So why have these people grown so snooty? They don't want to talk to us! We all know perfectly well here that that's the way it is.

Often we blame the authorities, or the Party. Where does the trouble really lie? They lose interest in the worker's fate right down at the lowest levels, at the departmental management level. They follow the line of least resistance. Instead of trying to improve the workers' situation, these executives transform themselves into simple bailiffs, as if they were living under a colonel's regime. We believe there should be no such bosses among us! Just like bailiffs... but we're thinking men! **(Applause)**

DELEGATE OF THE NTP DEPARTMENT: Workers of the shipyards! I speak in the name of NTP. First, I would like to say; Comrade Gierek, you talk of a change. Do you know what a change is? It's us who are present here. **(Shouts, applause, ovations)** Those who are workers, Communists, who are for People's Poland. So, it's with us that you should hold discussions, instead of sending the militia after us as if we were bandits, instead of surrounding us with a cordon of troops and trying to starve us out by preventing food from reaching us during the strike... Comrade Gierek, in the morning, after this long night, we'll go back to work, but we want, beforehand, to have some honest and direct answers. We've been lied to too much. Not by you, perhaps, Comrade Gierek, but by the others. Before... Well, now, we want the Central Committee to commit itself and take a position on this affair. We want...

GIEREK: That I cannot accept! It's an ultimatum ... **(Stirring and agitation in the hall)** after all, I am not the Central Committee. I'm only the First Secretary. It's up to the Committee to decide...

DELEGATE FROM THE NTP: That's true! Comrade Gierek is right: he can't answer all by himself. Do you know what that means? That means that the days of the cult of personality are over, workers! Hurray for Comrade Gierek... **(Applause and laughter)** But before I finish **(turning towards Gierek)** I want to say that we've waited 25 years for this historic moment. Now, today, in the presence of the government and of the Comrade First Secretary, we want everything—yes, everything

that has been said here—to be put in black and white. No traps! **(Shouting, yelling)** Thank you.

DELEGATE FROM SWG: I'm from SGW. I've got a question for the Central Committee: do we punish criminals in our country, or do we pay them? Someone answer me. We Poles chastised the Germans for their crimes . . . for shooting at us! Let the First Secretary of the Central Committee give me the answer: are crimes punished or rewarded?

Gierek: Don't force me to answer like that, or I won't answer you.

DELEGATE FROM SGW: Now, second point. Retirement. The retirement age ought to be 60 and not 65. We should also revise the work categories and modify the shipyard worksheets. I believe the unions will have to revise all that completely. **(Shouts)** Let's take sheet-metal as an example, or transport, or the stores . . . the work is hard there. These should be put in the first category, and we should go in the second 10 per cent after ten years, 5 per cent after five years; they should get 15 per cent after ten years. As for the demands, I'll say we've discussed them with the workers. They agree to suspend the strike and go back to work on Monday. Thanks . . . and I greet the new Central Committee and the government. In the name of the workers! **(Applause)**

DELEGATE FROM DZ: Esteemed citizens, I am non-Party and this is the seventeenth year that I have worked in the yards. It so happens that I am on the Strike Committee. I listened to Comrade Edward Gierek's speech and, believe me, it brought tears to my eyes. Comrade Gierek particularly emphasized our country's difficult economic situation. My section and I support him, and we will end the strike. But we say urgently to the Comrade Secretary and our new government: We're at the end of our strength! Because, frankly, we earn very little, and we hope the government is going to do all it can to ensure that, within the next few months, the working class will be able to raise its standard of living. We are good workers, but if we see that something of this sort is being done, then we'll work even harder. We genuinely want unity between us. Thank you. **(Applause)**

A DELEGATE: I still have to give the final answer of the workers in my department on ending the strike. Comrade Gierek! I am an old Party member. I only want to tell the truth. I don't want to disguise the situation, nor do I want to blacken my department. I don't want to be misunderstood. When I arrived, the situation in the department was as follows: a unanimous reply of: 'We want to go on with the strike!' That was the decision. After a long and stormy discussion we reached a conclusion: we can't carry on alone as a department. I don't want to urge the shipyards to continue with the strike, that's not my aim. But I would like to draw attention to the fact that the workers in our department are critical of all those who spoke before me, who they understood to have given way too easily on the question of cancelling the increase in food prices . . . and this despite the fact that throughout the strike, not one worthy showed up to intervene and try to convince us of the justice of this measure. Moreover, our department believes that in coming out on strike we, the naval shipyard workers, caused other enterprises to come out. Now this demand is not being met, and we're not living up to the trust they place in us. Comrade Gierek, Comrade Jaroszewicz, **(in a very grave voice)** I'm speaking the truth. The workers in our department have not been convinced by your remarks . . . and I'd like to say this: we'll stop the strike, not through conviction, but because the others are stopping. That's all. **(Deep silence, followed by growing tumult, prolonged turmoil, shouts)**

BALUKA: We demand full, correct information on the political and economic situation in the shipyards and in the country, and that the report circulated on the 11th of this month concerning pledges by the tube factory be rectified. Gentlemen, colleagues and comrades, it's quite obvious:

Polish factory worker- beware Gierkek.

the government will never be either popular or democratic as long as . . . the government is aware, I believe, that **information** is an element, an area, of the greatest importance! Remember the German hangman, Goebbels. Do you remember that he was the pillar of Hitlerism? What about us? But we have a people's state; this strength is among us! This press, this fine radio station built with our own hands, the microphone in front of me, the television, the newspaper, the very paper it's printed on—none of this should be directed against us! Against our interests! On the contrary, they ought to make our life pleasanter. They should inform! Bring together! Unite! Well, they don't because until now these things have to a large extent been thrown in the dustbin. They were simply wasted—not used.

We demand that our claims be published in the local mass media before 25 January 1971. Comrades, citizens, colleagues: this business must be reported. We are not insubstantial, we exist, and we're not going to give way on this point. We demand that the security services immediately stop harassing, threatening and arresting workers taking part in the strike. The strike is not an offence, for nothing in our laws forbids it. I'd like to underline one thing here. We have repeatedly demanded: **The law must be respected!** That's why I'm not going to enlarge on it now.

I believe—I demand in the name of the workers—that in the end Comrade Gierek, or someone in the government, will have to answer us; and that in the end they will give us a few words more of hope and reassurance. For that is the only way that every one can be entirely satisfied with what has been accomplished. Thank you.

SZLACHCIC (**Minister of the Interior**) . . . I would like to say, Comrades, that all appropriate measures will be taken and everything will be looked at objectively. If anyone is guilty, the right steps will be taken without regard for rank. At the same time I'd like to apologize for the outrages which occurred, and express my regret to all those who have innocently suffered from the actions of organizations now under my control. I would also like to explain why the militia were mobilized to surround the naval shipyards.

There was a mobilization of the militia because we were afraid . . . it was feared that you might . . . or that a group might go out into the town, that irresponsible elements might have joined it and that there would then have been a catastrophe. That was the basic reason—not directed against the shipyards, but against your leaving them and entering the town; that was what people were afraid of. There was a misunderstanding, because contact was not established with the Strike Committee. When Gierek landed . . . when he came to see you, I came to the shipyards myself at once and talked directly with you, discussing the conditions under which the dialogue between the leadership and yourselves could take place.

I know that a lot of complaints have been made against the militia. A lot of them are justified but, in my opinion, there are also some which are not. I'd like to say, comrades, that I work with these organizations. They are manned by workers like you, the sons of workers. I'll say more! If today or tomorrow one of you should wish to join these bodies, the road is open to him, provided his health is good and he fulfills the conditions. This is a **workers'** militia, a **people's** militia, and any of you can join if he wants to defend law and order. I might add that there aren't too many volunteers for the militia—we have great difficulty in getting people to come and work in the militia. At this moment there are 5,000 jobs empty and we'll take anyone who is willing to serve the country, the working class and the militia. If you like we'll start recruiting tomorrow; who wants to join? **(Confusion and shouts)**

I'd like to say one thing more: the militia is going to fight—that's what it's for—it's going to fight all criminal and enemy elements to protect law and order. It will defend order and the administration; that is its calling. We think you're going to support us and personally, comrades and colleagues, I ask you for this support. Thank you. **(Shouts, very scattered applause)**

JARUZELSKI (**Minister of Defence**) . . . First, the question of using the army. This is something which is decided on the highest political level. I emphasize again that we probably cannot examine all the details today, but this decision was taken on the highest political level. One might ask: why was a decision of that sort **carried out**! Comrades —brother workers—do you want an army which is going to manoeuvre the administration, which is going to change the government, as happens in Latin America or Africa, to the tune of colonels and generals; an army which is going to dispute this or that decision of the government—the legally elected government!—an army that's going to sweep the administration away? No! Our soldier's there to defend any people's administration. He's going to defend it side by side with you. He's going to defend the Party! Now it's not always clear, on the decision-making level, whether it is a just decision or not, whether it's correct or not. Today we can see plainly that this decision was pregnant with tragic and painful consequences, that it resulted in certain irrevocable acts which have generated a great deal of bitterness. It is certain that the Party will produce figures . . . **(Tape interrupted)**

In this situation our soldier behaved with dignity. I will even say that he showed himself superior to what one can usually expect of young boys. And not only young soldiers of 19 or 20, but young officers as well, behaved with such moderation and tact that they can be said to have avoided conse-

quences which might have been catastrophic. And at the same time, I believe, you have to admit that not everything that happened in the streets of Szczecin was equally worthy of praise and approval. What went on in the streets of Szczecin, the elements that latched on to your legitimate discontent with the situation and your anger at the decisions which had been taken—those who did this were bad and often criminal. Houses built at the cost of hard work burned before your eyes. Shops burned before your eyes—and there was looting! That's why you must understand that, in a situation of this sort, with more and more of these incidents happening, well as they say: 'God guides the bullets'. These are frightful things! Things with incalculable results, things one can't control! Moreover, you should realize that the burning of the Party Committee building happened in a way which was the antithesis of a simple human morality. People burst into the building, started the fire, damaged equipment and so on, whether you wanted it or not—someone else did it. But the facts are there! And just remember that there were 150 soldiers inside; that outside there were still more, soldiers and tanks, and the militia. Nobody opened fire although they had the law—the constitutional law—on their side! You've been talking here about the Constitution, about the law, about crime; you've been saying that the criminals who were firing should be punished. But they didn't fire. They didn't fire! If someone burst into your flat through the window and started looting—you have no weapons, but there must be something heavy in your house, we all have something of the sort—you'd hit him with it without bothering about whether you were killing him! But the soldier did not fire. The militiaman did not fire. There are certainly reserve soldiers among you. I see grey heads here—perhaps there are those among you who marched to war together with us. You know quite well what a soldier's weapon means to him. That weapon! Thanks to our soldier we're the second army in the Warsaw pact. We have an army of which you can be proud, genuinely proud. A good army, disciplined and ready for sacrifices. But this magnificent equipment exists only at the expense of hard work. You know what a soldier's weapon means to him. It's a sacred thing! He has no right to surrender it, no right to destroy it! On the parade ground and in the barracks he sweats to perfect the weapon, to maintain its combat capacity. And here it is burning before his eyes! Tanks and armoured cars burning—what do you think, my dear comrades? If this soldier, this officer, this commandant wanted to exercise their full rights—even their duty in a sense—it would have ended in a massacre! You know what a modern tank means, an armoured vehicle from which 20 or more gun-muzzles can spit fire. If all that kept silent, what does it prove? That there were criminals inside it! That they were criminals? No; they were men bewildered by what was going on, seeing the equipment on fire, the town burning, and feeling that terrible things, bad things were going on in the country. Through the fault of the former leadership, which had led up to such a situation, which forced a situation like that to arise. But one should also realize that when a situation like that has exploded and resulted in things like that happening—one should realize that it couldn't all happen so simply and easily as not to end with these things . . . that took place.

There are also rumours that the army has received a pay-rise—actually, it goes a bit further, doesn't it, and says that the army fired and got a pay-rise in exchange? No, dear comrades, the army has not, repeat not, been given a rise, and it wouldn't get a rise for that anyway. The army is not by any means living on the fat of the land. I remember that two years ago, when I was here for the electoral campaign, a worker asked me this very question—concerning conditions in the army, with the suggestion that they were better than average. I'll say the same as Comrade Szlachcic: why does nobody want to go into the army if conditions are so good there? We haven't got enough career officers, sublieutenants and officers. We have enormous shortages! We're even hunting for men—to live in luxury? No, my comrades. We don't add up our overtime as you do . . . but our soldiers have spent more than one night out of doors on exercises. You know what it's like as a service. It's a very hard service, especially here on the frontier. Then why are these rumours current amongst us? They're started by people who wish you no good, who are your enemies, foreign to you; they want to destroy our unity. They want to separate the Polish People's Army from the working class, from the masses. But together, we will prevent it. You will not allow it and we will not allow it. We are at your service, and always will be.

I have also heard gossip to the effect that here, in the yards, people were beaten and maltreated simply because they had a different opinion on the strike; that they were badly beaten up, that some had to go to hospital, and so on. Personally, I don't believe it! I've seen you here, the way you behave, your civilized behaviour. I've seen you and heard you, and I don't believe it. Ought you to believe everything you're told about us?

I'd like to assure you most emphatically that our army will stay here, on this most westerly of our Polish frontiers—whether or not the treaty (German-Polish treaty signed just before Gomulka fell) is ratified. But there is also the Baltic—an open frontier! At this very moment, while we're talking here, West German vessels are patrolling beyond that horizon. Espionage and reconnaissance vessels—we even know them by name. Over the Baltic the aircraft of the Bundeswehr are flying day and night. And we have to stay here, because it's only our strength that they fear. If we can count on this treaty, on these talks, it's only because our country is now stronger thanks to the toil of the workers, thanks to socialism.

GIEREK: Comrades have been saying here that—well, 14 years, isn't it too long a period? Shouldn't some limit be placed on the duration of office? For myself, comrades, I can tell you that before giving my agreement to my candidature for the job of First Secretary of the Central Committee, I couldn't make up my mind; I had huge reservations, you understand, and couldn't decide. Only the vision of this evil hovering over our country, this vision, you understand, made me agree to the decision. Now at that time I had already said to myself—and my closest friends know it—that I was going to try to make a start—a good start—on arranging things so that, as they say in jest, the king would not be the king for life; that is, elected for life. So that things wouldn't go on in that way; you understand, that either the First Secretary dies in office or he is swept away by the tide. I want to tell you that we're aiming to call an extraordinary Party Congress later this year to elect a new Central Committee. I'd like to take all this up, you understand, with the Congress. And if the Central Committee thinks I should remain at the helm for a while longer then, comrades, I'll do my utmost to make sure that this period will not be too long—both on account of my health, for I am a sick man, and for other reasons. Anyway, let's wait and see. You can be quite certain that the one who makes a start on this will be me. Let's leave it there, comrades. It will be discussed further. (**Applause**)

During that period, things happened in general something like this: there were staff meetings, weren't there, of a group of two or three persons, and this staff would take the decisions under Comrade Gomulka, for example, the decree on the State of Emergency. The comrades knew nothing about all that until they read about it in the papers! In the papers! To be more specific, I'll tell you that many of the government's decrees, while this autocratic attitude, this exceptional autocratism of Comrade Gomulka's held sway, were decided in Comrade Gomulka's office—it was **he**, you understand, who was running things, and the government only learnt about certain decisions from reading the papers. You know, these are things one is ashamed to talk about. It's shameful to say them! But unfortunately that's the way it was.

You could ask: Yes, but what about the Political Bureau? Comrades, there wasn't much the Bureau could say, or at least some members of the Bureau; if they brought something up, either they were isolated or they were discriminated against. I don't want to speak about myself, because it isn't right to talk about oneself, comrades. But still, if one does . . . well, personally, I have very decided opinions on some problems. Much more, I spoke of certain matters! Openly! At the Central Committee's Plenum, I mentioned certain matters—not with my mouth, you understand, but with my hands which wrote the speeches. Yes!—except that everyone knows what came of it. As they say: words are one thing, actions are another. I mention this so that people will be able to **grade**, as it were, the different degrees of guilt.

Take the business of the price rises, for instance. I was against, Comrades. **Against! (Voice in the hall: What?) I was against! I said so, comrades, openly!** I said so to everyone! And now you're going to ask me what I should have done? What should I have done! At the Central Committee's Plenum—the 6th Plenum, the comrades (**turning to the platform**) will remember—you know because, as they say, I was in all the right places. Gomulka was at the miners' dinner. There I cornered him and told him it was dangerous, that there would be strikes, that we were heading for an incident, and so on. That's what I told him. The only reply was: 'Yes. But you, what outcome are you suggesting?' That was all the answer I got! Under the circumstances, comrades, there was still one thing I could do: intervene publicly in the Political Bureau or the Central Committee's Plenum. In other words, resign from the Bureau with the words: 'Comrades, under the circumstances I cannot remain a member of the Political Bureau.' I could have done it—I've even wondered whether I shouldn't have. Only the comrades explained to me, my friends explained: 'Don't do it, because if there's an incident, no matter what it is, they'll say you caused it. They're going to say you were the motive force behind the incident.'

Comrades, one could say a lot about the way it was. For myself—you know, it's difficult for me to speak, difficult, because I wouldn't like people to think I wished to, let's say, blame others and whitewash myself. I'm not an angel either. I'm no angel. Me too, you understand, if I look at some matters with the benefit of hindsight, I can see that in certain cases . . . (**Tape interrupted**). From time to time we reproached Gomulka for being against buying more coffee, for instance, or enlarging cocoa purchases. His only reply was: 'You don't like it? Chocolate and coffee are petty-bourgeois habits.' Such . . . such fairy-tales, you see. Understand, some things are shameful to mention. It was especially shameful for us, Communists, to have to listen to all that. It was said that people like Gomulka are only born once in a century. Or it was said that Gomulka was ahead of his time, people didn't understand him, but his ideas were correct all the same, and so forth; people used to talk nonsense like that, that sort of idiocy. But it worked on some people; there were some, you understand, who were quite taken in by it. The more so because, during the occupation, the first years and even later, Gomulka did in fact do something for this country—never mind where the means came from. Even after 1956 . . . (**inaudible**). I think that at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee we'll have, let's say, a thorough house-cleaning. We'll see what that achieves. I think that we'll all leave this meeting with a profound conviction that the clean-up must be even more thorough than the one here, for

which you have demonstrated the need—if, that is, we really want to avoid in future the tragedy which has touched our country recently. I solemnly promise you that we will do our utmost to make the house-cleaning genuinely thorough. For the moment, we must get down to work. And as we have already said, do not hinder us in our work and do not help our enemies. Do not help those who would wish to show that what has happened is a counter-revolution after all, and that it was, after all, right to open fire.

In conclusion, I would like to thank you for your confidence in me. I thank you, comrades. (**Prolonged applause, hubbub, everyone speaking at once**)

BALUKA: Comrade workers! The strike is over! The strike is over! Leave your guard posts! (**another voice is heard, loud and emotional**)

A WORKER: Don't leave. I want to say one more thing. It's about all those who are no longer among us. I don't know if Comrade Gierek will share our regret. I would like us to do homage to them at least with a minute's silence at the end of this strike.

GIEREK: I agree

THE WORKER: Since I'm speaking, I ask a minute's silence of everyone present, starting now. I also ask all those in the naval shipyard grounds to observe a minute of silence in memory of those who are no longer with us. (**Silence**)

Extracts from this transcript have appeared in a number of European publications ('L'Espresso' in Italy, etc.) since it was smuggled out of Poland. The full text, amounting to almost 200 pages, has been translated into French and published as a book by S.E.L.I.O., 87 rue du Faubourg St Denis, Paris 10.

Capitalism Creeps Back Into Hungary

BUDAPEST — (UPI) — Istvan Szurdi, deputy minister for internal trade in Hungary's Communist government, does not care much for state-run stores.

"If I want to buy real good stuff I go to a private dealer," he said publicly.

Five years ago such a statement could have cost Szurdi his job.

"Things have changed," explained Imre Gerle, chairman of the private retailers' association Kisozs. "Government leaders have finally acknowledged that private enterprise can render a fine service where state enterprise has failed."

Since the introduction in 1968 of Hungary's "new economic mechanism" — a free-wheeling interpretation of Communist economics with a dash of capitalism — the number of small family businesses has risen by 25 percent.

Unprofitable state enterprises have been leased to private businessmen, who now make money for themselves — and the state.

Party hard-liners oppose the trend but have so far failed to stop it.

Hungary's more than 11,000 private enterprises now sell everything from furnishings to fried doughnuts.

"There are some fields of trade where the state just can't do a good job," Gerle said. "Licensing private retailers to do this work is natural. It helps the economy and keeps the consumer happy.

"Our prices are higher than those of state, but our quality and service are better — and that's what the buyer wants."

Manchester Guardian

Rural China allowed more private enterprise

From David Bonavia

Peking, Oct 22

The *People's Daily* today came out strongly in favour of more private production by Chinese agricultural workers. Two separate articles in the Communist Party organ criticized the view that cottage industries and the rearing of domestic livestock were: "taking the capitalist road" in agriculture.

This point has been at the heart of many debates about Chinese farm policy since 1949, and the tendency now seems to be towards permitting more free enterprise.

A production brigade leader in Liaoning province wrote that he had previously regarded flourishing cottage industries and private production as a sign of capitalist tendencies and had restricted them.

However, after studying Chairman Mao's works further, he had realized that "legitimate" private production was beneficial to the community as a whole. In fact attempts to suppress it only led to "capitalist tendencies"—probably a euphemism for illicit production and black marketeering.

The agricultural workers were now being encouraged to rear pigs, chickens, ducks, geese and rabbits to a greater extent, and to weave baskets for earth moving and mats to cover the warmed brick platform on which many Chinese sleep. All this work was, of course, carried out in their spare time, but far from affecting collective labour adversely it seemed to be beneficial.

A reporter of the *People's Daily* also said in a dispatch from a commune in Ho-Pei province that some administrative staff had attempted to suppress private mat weaving as "spontaneous capitalism". After a discussion of this problem, it had been decided to let the peasants carry on their traditional handicraft ow weaving mats.

A trend towards greater permissiveness with regard to "legitimate" private enterprise by rural workers would be in line with the general return to more pragmatic domestic foreign policies in China.

New York Times

PURGED ARMY MEN AT FETE IN PEKING

Former High Aides Attend a Reception Honoring Forces

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, Aug. 1—A number of purged Chinese military leaders, some of whom had dropped out of sight for five years, reappeared last night at the reception held in Peking to mark the 45th anniversary of the Chinese Communist armed forces.

Prominent among those attending, as listed by Hsinhua, the official Chinese press agency, was Chen Tsai-tao, the military commander for central China, who was relieved and disciplined at the height of the Cultural Revolution in 1967.

Listed with Mr. Chen were Chung Han-hua, former political commissar of the Wuhan command, who was dismissed at the same time, Yang Yung, former deputy chief of staff and commander of the Peking military region, and seven other formerly high officers, as well as Chen Yun, formerly Peking's top economic authority and a Politburo member.

Since unity of the armed forces around the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung was the chief theme of the anniversary observances, it is believed that Mr. Chen and the other army officers were put on display as politically rehabilitated to demonstrate to military personnel throughout the country that even those who have erred can return to the fold if they show repentance and loyalty to Mr. Mao.

N oTitle for Chen Listed

In disclosing the presence of the 64-year-old Mr. Chen at the Peking reception, Hsinhua gave no title or indication of his present position.

In 1967, Mr. Chen collaborated in Wuhan, a major industrial city and Yangtze River port, with mass organizations—called the Million Warriors—that were opposed to the extremist Red Guards and other groups then in favor with Peking. His action led to one of the most serious crises of the Cultural Revolution.

For weeks the big industrial center was in a state of chaos and rebellion against China's central authority. Peking was able to quell the insurgency and restore order only by sending in troops, air force units and naval forces of the Yangtze River flotilla.

As it turned out, the episode in Wuhan animated forces in Peking and elsewhere opposed to Red Guard extremism and soon afterward the central leadership issued orders authorizing military forces all over the country to crack down on anarchistic factionalism and reestablish stability. This resulted in checking the leftist radicals.

The turbulent Wuhan situation of 1967 reached a climax when Deputy Premier Hsieh-Fu-chih and Wang Li, a member of the Peking radical group directing the Cultural Revolution, were beaten and temporarily detained by activists of the Million Warriors during a visit to the city on July 14. They had gone to Wuhan to try to persuade Mr. Chen to shift his support from the workers' organizations that made up the Million Warriors to the radicals.

Narrow Escape by Chou

When Premier Chou En-lai flew from Peking to deal with the situation, he himself narrowly escaped being seized. Mr. Chen allowed workers of the Million Warriors to set up a ring of trucks around the airfield where Premier Chou was scheduled to land, evidently as part of a plan to kidnap him.

But the air force in Wuhan was loyal to Peking and radioed word to Mr. Chou, who landed at an alternate field under loyalist control.

Soon afterward, Mr. Chen was summoned to Peking by Chairman Mao. Subsequently he made a confession of error and dropped from public view.

Crime under Capitalism— One Reader's View

"Humble citizens of all races today are in more danger from the policeman's club than they are from assaults by criminals."[1] This observation, which seems to spring directly from some radical newspaper, was actually recorded by a New York City journalist in 1900. His priority of city dangers conveys to us something about the past which lends itself to the discussion of violent crime: the prevalence of officially-sanctioned violence.

Certainly there is no lack of news exposure on the subject of violent crime—every important person has had his say. As recently as May, 1972 the Atlantic Monthly featured a former presidential crime commission critic bemoaning the fact that violent crimes have increased 126 percent over the past decade. A report by the Congressional Quarterly raises this to 142 percent.[2]

Insecurity, alas, is not confined to the slicker periodicals. The New York Times in January, 1972 polled a group of New Yorkers to ascertain their fears of city life. Ninety percent of those sampled rated New York unsafe, one-third speaking from direct personal experiences. Federal sources report over 4800 bombings took place in 1970-1, over 400 exploding in Greater New York alone.[3] The risk of assault in Chicago, we are told, is one in 77 and only one in 2000 in a nearby, rich suburb.[4]

In the teeth of these findings I can hardly deny the existence of violent crime. I have seen enough of it on city streets and heard about it in the courts not to accept the validity of some figures. But I think most reports are overstated for perverse reasons. It is the purpose of this paper to examine some of the nastier implications which surround the subject of violent crime. Four propositions are in order. First, that the coverage of violent crime is grossly out of proportion to historical precedent. Second, that very important social control agencies have a fundamental stake in perpetuating and dramatising the reports on urban violent crimes. Third, that what is occurring is an ideological technique which fastens attention on this subject while ignoring more significant, politically-induced violent crimes. Lastly, that the chatter about violent crime is both racist and hypocritical when seen alongside other aspects of American life.

HISTORY DAMPENS INDIGNATION

It would appear that the human animal has never been "safe," whether encamped in the wilds or in contact with others of his species. Violent crime has been recorded in Ancient Egypt and China. Rome and Greece were also scenes of spasmodic attacks of violence. Pillage is synonymous with the Dark Ages. And for an English milord to be mugged in broad daylight in Piccadilly in the 1750s excited only passing interest at the time.[5] The eighteenth century writer Horace Walpole claimed the only safe streets in London were those submerged in water.[6] New York City possessed gangs in the nineteenth century which ruled whole sectors and were capable of summoning as many as 2000 members during emergencies.[7]

Within the short space of eight years, 1848-56, California Territory witnessed an unbelievable 42,000 murders; it has furthermore been claimed that more than 10,000 murders took place annually from 1875-1925.[8] Even depressing these figures by half produces a startling spectacle of human wastage, without considering what must have been astronomical rates for assault and robbery.

Surprisingly, the worst excesses date from the interwar years, 1919-1939, a period labelled by one observer as the "The Golden Age of Crime." The Valachi Papers make it abundantly clear violent crime flourished like weeds in the poorer sections of big cities before the advent of police car radios. Never before or since has there been a more deadly, racially violent period with such universal contempt for the law. Cities like East St. Louis calmly accepted robbery and assault rates ten times higher than are faced today.[9] The rate increase of violent crime has been computed for this period at a record 212 percent.[10]

Actual percentages of current violent crime are small. Latest figures show murder at .003 percent of total crimes; rape at .007 percent; robbery at five percent; aggravated assault at six percent. Thus roughly eleven percent of all crimes are violent. It should be mentioned that some of these are committed by a few chronic offending youths, that some are solicited by the victims, that police overclassify complaints, and that guns are used in perhaps three in every four cases.

Of course there have been changes in the pat-

tern of violent crime over the last seventy years, not least among the victims themselves. Years ago, when people were assaulted they simply kept their mouths shut; the majority were too poor to be worth a policeman's time anyway. Today, in this numbers-crazed world, everyone wants to be counted as a statistic, if only as a victim. Consequently, whether for restitution or simply to be recognized by officials, people complain to the police about the most trivial of intimidating incidents.

Well, why then this verbal explosion about violent crime? Who benefits by the current widespread coverage of a subject which was considerably worse years ago? Can anyone be said to even profit by all this? I can think of at least four prestigious groups, the police, the press, the pedants, and the politicians, who do profit by the hysteria over violent crime, and I wish to examine these in the next few paragraphs.

FOCUSING ON THE POLICE "INDUSTRY"

In the case of the police, violent crime is predictably big business. This does not even include the tremendous sales in civilian and home protection equipment. Increasing crime rates, whether deliberate or not, does serve to justify the purchasing of police gear in wholesale lots and on a sumptious, almost wartime scale. Tanks, submarines, and helicopters are becoming respectable inventory for any big city police department. Moreover, detention centres are expanded, police forces beefed, and greater attention given by city government to their police demands. Empires are made in this fashion.

Unfortunately, funding this sector results in strangulation for other areas. As a result local social welfare programmes are financially starved out of existence. Only five of the country's twenty largest cities have spent more on public welfare than on police protection in the last decade.[11] And these can hardly be said to be neglecting their police services. San Francisco, one of the five, is allocating 75 percent more money to its police force today than it did barely two years ago.[12]

Federal monies spent fighting crime have almost doubled in the past two years while funds for rehabilitation services have dwindled by a third to barely ten percent of the pie.[13] One federal crime-fighting programme has been increased financially some thirteen times since its inception in 1968.[14] Obviously, police feel that criminals are overawed by impressive, even crushing amounts of force, a concept worthy of practice in the middle ages.

CHURNING OUT THE DATA

Another group which does not do so badly out of the violence trade is composed of pedants. They seem to be grinding out studies on the subject, much of it financed through federal endowments. At least one hundred university-sponsored studies are now being produced on various aspects of social control. Every legitimate crime or riot commission demands more research, deploring the limited amount of what exists. Personally, I think we are swamped with material. Much of it, like histories of the French Revolution, treat every conceivable and some inconceivable aspects not excluding time of day and tidal currents. The result is a bewildering array of unreadable, contradictory research which only serves to propagate the research establishment.

Curiously, much of the best analytical work was published quite some time ago. Sociologists such as Tannenbaum, Burt, Sutherland, Durkheim, Shaw, Bonger, and Park, among others, explored the field in rather definitive terms, certainly establishing a connexion between frustration and aggression, poverty and crime. While it is presently fashionable to decry the archaic criminal justice system it should be remembered that the renowned jurist, Dean Pound, was discussing this very issue as far back as 1930.[15] In short, what is needed now is less research and more enactment of previous recommendations.

HEADLINES WHICH MISGUIDE

The press is another beneficiary from discussion of violent crime. Headlines catch the eye and sell copies, and what better way to capture the market than to spread some grizzly story across the front pages? Nearly every other page of the first section is embroidered with violent incidents of a local nature. Through these tedious reminders, the reader quickly gains the desired impression that his city totters on the brink of a colossal spree of destructive anarchy. We certainly tend to believe something which is said often enough, and the topic of violent crime fits this description. For people to be told there is too much violent crime is enough to convince them this is so, even if this was not previously on their minds. Professor Lindesmith noticed this malevolent tendency of the press in its treatment of the violence inherent in drug addition.[16]

Crime reports seem to satisfy some inner compulsive need of drama for most of us. Karl Marx grasped the point when he noted how these articles tend to spice up an average person's otherwise sluggish existence. Stories of violence also confirm what we have always known about the poor, that they are brutal and incapable of deciding what is right from what is wrong. Such scapegoats are particularly useful in moments of national crisis, an ever-recurring phenomenon. C.H. Rolph concluded that the press, by being a vested interest, could never be sympathetic to violence, whatever the causal reason, and purposely enlivened its violent qualities to sell newspapers.[16a]

THE POLITICIAN'S PLAYTHING

The last beneficiary of violent crime, and the most insidious, is the politician, who controls through fear generated by the subject. It is my

contention that the current emphasis on violent crime enables the politician to easily manipulate a gullible public, which allows itself to be dominated, from the really violent, if politically-derived crimes. It also permits the politician to play off ethnic groups and suppress radical thought. For after all, who in his right mind could possibly be in favor of violent crime? The real crimes, which fail to fit usual definitions, are obvious ones: racism and economic inequality at home, incessant warfare and imperiatorial rule abroad. Moreover, the financial and psychological impact of these politically violent crimes are, unlike present crime figures, incalculable. But as George Orwell pointed out, "In power politics there are no crimes, because there are no laws."

Politicians hardly show more concern or tenderness for the sick or feeble or elderly, and are always pruning benefits for these groups. If legislators place such little worth on human life why should there be different expectations for those who act more impulsively?

INHERENT RACISM AND HYPOCRISY

It strikes me that this current concern with violent crime displays both racist and hypocritical characteristics which spill over into our national life. When police say violent crime they seem to infer black terrorism. Some studies have found a large percentage of police voluntarily describing black people as intrinsically bestial.[17] A New York journalist was recently startled to discover his assailant on a mid-Manhattan street was neither young or black. "It was all wrong..." he wrote later, "the man was not black, not particularly young, not at all tattered."[18] This is the stereotype we have come to accept.

Selective definitions of violent crime attribute it solely to young black men. This is the enemy according to riot and crime commission reports. They are the ones signalled out by shopkeepers and victims alike. Of course this bias reinforces the conventional attitudes toward black people while failing to contrast this with the horrendous violence involved in auto accidents, or in environmental destruction, or the grinding agonies of long-term unemployment. Moreover, seen in broader perspective, America itself bears prime responsibility, as leading exporter of weapons, for most of the sixty national wars which have taken place since 1945.[19]

There are certain official advantages to be gained by portraying black people as savage muggers. Politicians need not spend severely limited funds for social betterment to a group so obviously unappreciative and destructive. The impression of innate viciousness permits police repression and brutal Court punishments. Whites become increasingly suspicious of blacks in their shops and streets, thus retarding any movement towards integration. The law and order issue is particularly useful when politicians need votes and to rally white support against black. And trumped up charges by police inevitably reduce future job possibilities for large numbers of black men to the vanishing point. After all, what respectable business wants to hire a robber?

Paradoxically, ours is a moralistic culture which, on one hand glorifies certain criminal tendencies while, on the other, savagely criticizes the inevitable byproduct. The Mafia and KKK have a long and glamourous history to many people. Inexhaustable Westerns, many as violently bloody as any battlefield, is Hollywood's most rewarding depiction of American history . And despite the fact that most violent crimes are committed with guns, it is virtually impossible to limit, much less abolish, the single most important ingredient to violent crime.

Behind the literary whitewashing, many of America's most illustrious historical leaders can only be described as robbers and murderers., and now we are just beginning to peel back the history pages to discover the genocidal nature of men. We speak of the terrible rash of bombings in our cities, forgetting completely the thousands of black families and churches bombed without remorse in the last seventy years. The only official reaction to these was the occasional arrest of an undesirable radical on some unrelated charge. Even so, the whole subject of bombing pales when one considers the indiscriminate bombing of civilian targets in Vietnam by American planes.

We talk about fighting crime but little is spent on eradicating poverty, and much of the money is admittedly used to shore up the status quo.[20] Our leaders castigate the young and then seek causes for their alienation with the drabness of real life. Yet never before has there been such a scathing attack on all aspects of youthful culture.

If the young are so obsessed with violence so are the police who rank as past masters in this art. In all the discussion about violent crime I have yet to hear any condemnation of police violence, which I believe to be rampant in the cities, only less so in the suburbs where they are most effectively harnessed. Large city police in the poorer sections are notoriously surly, overly eager in enforcing decisions, and prone to kill with little provocation.

A FEW CLOSING COMMENTS

We are a country of trendy, single causes. James Reston believes we have a short memory, and I am inclined to agree with him. One year our attention is riveted to the poverty war; another year the environmental issue gets the full media treatment. Recently women's lib preoccupied our thoughts. Now we are told to concentrate on violent crime. Eventually, I suppose, even this subject will become tiresome to a readership that will demand some new crusade to wage. Perhaps consumer protection is next in line. Regardless of the topic, we seemingly can only grasp its significance if it is kept apart from other causes while we are flattened by its impact.

In closing, I merely wish to repeat the original intent of the paper. I believe the issue of violent

crime is many-sided, but that the worst abuses originate at the top rather than the bottom of the social ladder. It is this fat cat group that is capable of channeling discussion of violent crime into well-travelled officially-controlled grooves which eliminate their own culpability. For in the last analysis, it is from our rulers, uniformed and otherwise, rather than our neighbors, from which we require the most amount of protection.

1. R. O'Conner, *Hell's Kitchen* (Philadelphia: 1958)
2. Congressional Quarterly, *Crime and the Law* (Washington, D.C.: 1970)
3. Congressional Quarterly, *Crime and the Law* (Washington, D.C.: 1970)
4. Anthony Platt, *Anatomy of the Riot Commissions* (New York: 1971)
5. C. Hibbert, *Roots of Evil* (New York: 1963)
6. Letter of 6 October 1774
7. R. O'Conner, *Hell's Kitchen* (Philadelphia: 1958)
8. G. Hendricks, *The Badmen of the West* (San Antonio: 1942), G.D. Newton, *Firearms and Violence in American Life* (Washington, D.C.: 1968)
9. Congressional Quarterly for 1969 rate at 147 per 100,000 and Platt, 1000 per 100,000
10. A.B. Reeve, *The Golden Age of Crime* (New York: 1931)
11. Statistical Abstracts for 1964-71.
12. San Francisco Commission on Crime, *Report on the Police Department* (San Francisco: 1971)
13. Statistical Abstract
14. LEAA Newsletter, Vol. 2 No. 4, March 1972
15. Dean Pound, *Criminal Justice in America* (New York: 1930)
16. A.R. Lindesmith, *The Addict and the Law* (New York: 1965)

16a. C.H. Rolph, *Common Sense About Crime and Punishment* (London: 1961)

17. William Brink and Louis Norris, *Black and White, A story of U.S. Racial Attitudes* (New York: 1967)
18. Frederic Morton in Village Voice, 17 April 1972
19. See George Thayer, *The War Business* (London: 1971)
20. See Atlantic Monthly, May 1972, article by James Vorenberg

This article shows Marx's insight into workers' opression. He concerns himself about every facet of the lives of workers. Particularly, he develops the thesis that the fight for the shorter work-day is revolutionary. This is because the shorter work-day is a direct assault on surplus value. The fight for the shorter work-day goes on. Now it is for the six hour day or 30 for 40. This fight is in the best traditions of Marxism.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF KARL MARX

IN accordance with the decision of the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to carry on a wide campaign for the popularisation of Marxism-Leninism in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great teacher and leader of the working-class, Karl Marx (March 14th, 1933), the editors of the "Communist International" are commencing the publication of certain documents from the literary heritage of Marx and Engels in the possession of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the C.C. C.P.S.U. with this issue, and various essays dealing with the activity of the founder of scientific Communism and the originator of the international Communist movement, Karl Marx.

The further intensification of the world economic crisis in the period of the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, the growth of the revolutionary upsurge, the successes of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries among the working masses and especially the victorious march of socialism in the Soviet Union, are all practical and theoretical victories of Marxism, which re-compel its enemies to disguise themselves as "Marxists."

Certain social-democratic leaders are already beginning to talk of the "two Marxist parties," so that thereby they can surround their anti-worker policy with a "Marxist" cloak. Just as there could not be two Marxisms, there cannot be two Marxist parties. In Marxism, the *most important point* was, and is, the teachings on the *historic rôle of the proletariat*, which consists of the winning of the proletarian dictatorship, as the preliminary condition to the liquidation of all classes, and the construction of classless society. This historic rôle of the proletariat was first carried out by the Party of the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, who alone consistently continued the work of Marx and Engels, the creator of Leninism—"the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions," and continues to be carried out under the leadership of Stalin, the best disciple and follower of Lenin, in the field of the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction. There is no other Marxism in our epoch but Marxism-Leninism, and all attempts on the part of social-democracy to lay claim to the teachings of Marx which they have "criticised" and "refuted," falsified and betrayed; both in its various parts, and as a whole, is nothing but a new attempt of social-democracy to trick the working-class, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, in the circumstances of the transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars.

The sections of the Comintern must remember that the struggle of the working-class for freedom does not take place in two forms—the political and economic—but in three forms—the political, economic and *theoretical* struggle, that the power and invincibility of the Communist movement consists precisely in this combination of all these forms of struggle.

The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Marx must be utilised for the widest propaganda of the rich heritage of Marx-Engels-Lenin, for the strengthening of the theoretical sector of the class struggle, in this way strengthening also the two other sectors of the front: the political and economic struggle. The greater the efforts applied to the inculcation of the teachings of Marx among the working masses, the more powerful will become the force which deals a deadly blow at capitalism.

THE EDITORS.

Questionnaire for Workers

On April 20th, 1880, a "Questionnaire for Workers" (Enquête Ouvrière) was published in the French magazine "La Revue Socialiste." As is evident from Marx's Letter to Sorge, dated November 5th, 1880, this questionnaire was drawn up by Karl Marx. In addition to publishing it in "La Revue Socialiste" the editors of that magazine published it as a separate leaflet which was widely distributed all over France. The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute has no information as yet as to what were the results of this enquiry.

Since the time it was issued the questionnaire has been forgotten, it was never translated into any other language, or republished in France; and yet it is one of the last works of Marx, written in the last years of his life. Its contents are of great interest to the international labour movement of the present day.—MARX-ENGELS-LENIN INSTITUTE.

NO Government (whether monarchical or republican-bourgeois) has ever dared to conduct a serious enquiry into the condition of the French working-class. But, on the other hand, how many enquiries have there not been into agricultural, financial, industrial, commercial and political crises!

The infamies of capitalist exploitation revealed through the official investigation of the English Government, and the legal consequences arising from these revelations: (limitation to ten hours of the legal working day, laws limiting the labour of women and children, etc. . . .) have rendered the French bourgeoisie even more fearful of the dangers which an impartial and systematic enquiry might present.

Pending the time when we shall be able to induce the republican Government to imitate the monarchical Government of England by opening up a huge enquiry into the deeds and misdeeds of capitalist exploitation, we shall try, with the feeble means at our disposal, to begin one ourselves, We hope to receive in this task the support of all the town and country workers, who understand that they alone can describe, with full insight, the ills they endure ; that they alone, and not any saving Providence, can apply energetically remedies for this social poverty from which they suffer. We are counting, too, upon socialists of all schools who, desiring a social reform, must desire an *exact* and *positive* knowledge of the conditions of labour and of existence of the working-class—the class to which the future belongs.

This *Collection of Labour Data* is the first task imposed upon the socialist democracy in its preparation for the social renovation.

The following hundred questions are the most important ones. The answers must bear the number corresponding to the questions. It is not necessary to answer all the questions ; but we recommend that answers be as full and as detailed as possible. The name of the working man or woman answering will not be published unless specially authorised, but it must be given, together with the address, so that he or she may be communicated with if necessary.

The answers must be sent to the manager of the *Revue Socialiste*, Monsieur Lecluse, 28 Rue Royale à Saint Cloud, près Paris.

The answers will be classified and will furnish the materials for special monographs which will be published in the *Revue Socialiste* and, later on, in volume form.

I.

1. What is your trade ?
2. Does the workshop in which you work belong to one capitalist or to a company of shareholders ? Give the names of the capitalist *employers* or of the directors of the company.
3. Give the number of persons employed.
4. Give their age and sex.
5. What is the youngest age at which children (boys or girls) are admitted ?
6. Give the number of supervisors and other employees who are not ordinary wage-earners.
7. Are there any apprentices ? How many ?
8. Apart from the workers employed ordinarily and regularly, are there others who come in from outside at certain times ?
9. Does your employers' firm work exclusively or chiefly for local customers ? For the home market in general ?—or for foreign export ?
10. Is the workshop situated in town or country ? Name the place.
11. If your workshop is situated in the country, does your industrial labour suffice to keep you alive ? Or must you combine it with agricultural labour ?
12. Is your work done by hand or with the aid of machinery ?
13. Give details of the division of labour in your industry.
14. Is steam employed as motive power ?
15. Give a list of the rooms in which the different branches of the industry are practised. Describe the special function in which you are employed ; tell us not only what you do technically, but also what this imposes upon you in the way of muscular and nervous fatigue, and what is its general effect upon the health of the workers.
16. Describe the sanitary conditions of the workshop ; the dimensions of the rooms ; the space allotted to each worker ; the ventilation, temperature, the lime-whiting of the walls ; the lavatories ; general cleanliness ; noise of machinery ; metallic dust ; dampness, etc.
17. Is there any municipal or governmental supervision of the sanitary condition of the workshops ?
18. In your industry, are there any specially deleterious matters given off* which engender specific diseases among the workers ?
19. Is the workshop overcrowded with machinery?
20. Is the motive power, the power transmission apparatus, and the machinery fenced off in such a way as to prevent any accident ?
21. Give a list of the accidents which have occurred in your personal experience.
22. If you work in a mine, give a list of the precautionary measures taken by your employer to insure ventilation, and to prevent explosions and other dangerous accidents.
23. If you work in a factory producing chemical products, or metallic objects, or in any industry attended with special dangers, make a list of the precautionary measures taken by your employer.
24. What method of lighting is used in your workshop (gas, paraffin, etc.) ?
25. Are there adequate means of escape in case of fire ?
26. In case of accident, is the employer *legally* obliged to compensate the worker or his family ?
27. If not, has he ever compensated those who have met with misfortune while working to enrich him ?
28. Is there a medical service in your workshop ?
29. If you work at home, describe the condition of your workroom. Do you use tools or small machines ? Are you assisted by your children or by other persons (adults or children, males or females) ?

* In the original "emanations"—dust, hairs, fumes, germs, etc.

Do you work for private customers or for a contractor? Do you deal directly with him or through an intermediary?

30. Give a list of the hours of daily work, and the days of work during the week.

31. Give a list of public holidays during the year.

32. What breaks are there in the day's work?

33. Are meals taken at definite intervals or irregularly? Are they taken inside or outside the workshop?

34. Does any work go on during mealtimes?

35. If steam is employed, when is it turned on, when is it shut off?

36. Is there any night work?

37. Give a list of the hours of work of children and young persons below sixteen years of age.

II.

38. Are there shifts of children and young persons replacing one another during the hours of work?

39. Are the laws on child labour enforced by the Government or by the municipality? Do the employers submit to them?

40. Are there schools for the children and young persons employed in your trade? If there are, what are the school hours? Who conducts them? What is taught therein?

41. Where there is night and day work, what is the system of shifts?

42. What is the usual overtime during periods of great industrial activity?

43. Are the machines cleaned by workers specially engaged for this work? Or are they cleaned without cost by the workers employed at the machines during their day's work?

44. What are the rules about, and fines for, lateness? When does the day's work begin? When does it begin again after meals?

45. What time do you spend in going to the workshop and in returning home?

III.

46. What contracts do you sign with your employer? Are you engaged by the day?—by the week?—by the month, etc.?

47. What are the conditions laid down for giving and receiving notice?

48. In the case of a broken contract, when the employer is at fault, what is his penalty?

49. When the worker is at fault, what is his penalty?

50. If there are apprentices what are the terms of their contract?

51. Is your work regular or irregular?

52. In your trade is there work only at certain seasons, or is the work, normally, distributed more or less evenly throughout the whole year? If you work only at certain seasons, how do you live in the interval?

53. Are you paid by time, or by the piece?

54. If you are paid by time, are you paid by the hour or by the day?

55. Are there extra wages for extra work? What are they?

56. If your wages are paid by the piece, how is the rate determined? If you are employed in industries in which the work executed is measured by quantity or weight, as is the case in the mines, does your employer (or do his substitutes) try by means of trickery to swindle you of part of your earnings?

57. If you are paid by the piece, do they use the quality of the article as a pretext for fraudulent deduction from your wages?

58. Whether you are paid by the piece or by time, when are you paid? In other words, for how long do you extend credit to your master before receiving the price of the labour performed? Are you paid after a week, a month, etc.?

59. Have you noticed that the delay in the payment of your wages obliges you to have frequent recourse to the pawnshop—paying there a high rate of interest, and depriving yourself of things you need—to run up debts at the shopkeepers', becoming their prey because you are their debtor? Do you know of cases where workers have lost their wages by the bankruptcy of their bosses?

60. Are wages paid directly by the boss or by intermediaries (gang masters, butties, etc.)?

61. If wages are paid by gang masters or other intermediaries, what are the terms of your contract?

62. What is the rate of your wage in money by the day and by the week?

63. What are the wages of women and children co-operating with you in the same workshop?

64. In your workshop, what was the highest wage for day work during the last month?

65. What was the highest wage for piece-work during the last month?

66. What was your wage during the same time? And if you have a family, what were the wages of your wife and children?

67. Are wages paid entirely in money or otherwise?

68. If your employer lets you your domicile, what are the conditions? Does he deduct the rent from your wages?

69. *What are the prices of necessary objects*, such as:

(*a*) Rent of your dwelling-place, conditions of tenancy, the number of rooms comprising it, and of persons living in it; repairs; insurance; buying and upkeep of furniture; heating, lighting, water, etc.

(*b*) Food—bread, meat, vegetables, potatoes, etc., milk, eggs, fish, butter, oil, lard, sugar, salt, groceries, coffee, chicory, beer, cider, wine, etc., tobacco.

"Too bad we're not camels, isn't it?"

(*c*) Clothing for parents and children; laundry, cleaning, baths, soap, etc.

(*d*) Miscellaneous expenses: delivery of letters; loans and deposits at the pawnbroker's, children's school expenses, apprenticeship, newspapers, books, etc.; contributions to trade union, clubs and friendly societies, etc.

(*e*) Expenses, if any, occasioned by the exercise of your trade.

(*f*) Rates and taxes.

70. Try to set out a weekly and an annual budget of your income and of that of your family; of your weekly and annual expenditure.

71. Have you noticed during your personal experience, that the price of the objects necessary for life (such as food, lodging, etc.) has risen more than have wages?

72. Enumerate any fluctuations in the rate of wages which you know of.

73. Mention the drops in wages in times of stagnation and industrial crisis.

74. Mention the rises in wages in (so-called) times of prosperity.

75. Mention the interruptions caused to work by changes of methods and by particular and general crises. Describe your own periods of involuntary idleness.

76. Compare the *prices of the articles you produce* or of the services you render, with the price of your toil.

77. Cite cases you have known of workers displaced by the introduction of machinery, or by other improvements.

78. With the development of machinery and of the productivity of labour, have the intensity and duration of labour been increased or diminished?

79. Do you know of any raising of wages in consequence of this progress of production?

80. Have you ever known of any ordinary workers who have been able, at the age of 50, to retire and live on the money they have earned in their capacity of wage-earners?

81. What is, in your trade, the number of years in which a worker of average health can continue to work?

IV.

82. Do trade unions* exist in your trade, and how are they conducted? Send their statutes and regulations.

83. How many strikes have occurred in your trade in the course of your experience?

84. How long did these strikes last?

85. Were they general or partial?

86. Did they aim at a rise in wages or were they made to resist a reduction in wages; or were they concerned with the length of the working day or were they prompted by other motives?

87. What were their results?

88. Give details of the action of the arbitrators.

89. Has your trade supported strikes of workers belonging to other trades?

90. Give details of the regulations and penalities established by your employer for the government of his wage-earners.

91. Have there been coalitions of employers to impose wage reductions; to extend or intensify labour; to hinder strikes; and, generally, to impose their will?

92. Do you know of cases where the Government has misused the armed forces, putting them at the service of the employers against their wage workers?

93. Do you know of cases in which the Government has intervened to protect the workers against the exactions of the masters and their illegal† coalitions?

94. Does the Government carry out against the masters the existing laws on labour? Do its inspectors fulfil their duty?

95. Do there exist in your workshop societies for mutual aid in cases of accident, illness, death, temporary incapacity for work, old age, etc.? Send their statutes and regulations.

96. Is the entrance to these societies voluntary or compulsory? Are the funds exclusively under the control of the workers?

97. If the contributions are compulsory and under the control of the masters, do they deduct them from your wages? Do they pay interest on the sums retained? Are they returned to the worker when he gives notice or is sacked? Do you know of cases in which workers have benefited from so-called saving clubs controlled by the bosses, whose capital is made up of levies upon the wages of the workers?

98. Are there co-operative societies in your trade? How are they run? Do they employ workers from outside in the same way as the capitalists do? Send their statutes and regulations.

99. Are there in your trade workshops where the remuneration of the workers is paid partly under the name of wages and partly under the name of a so-called co-partnership in the profits? Compare the sums received by these workers and those received by the other workers where no so-called co-participation in profits exists. Give a list of the undertakings of the workers living under this system. Can they conduct strikes, etc.? Or are they merely permitted to be the humble servants of their masters?

100. What are the general physical, intellectual and moral conditions of the working men and women employed in your trade?

101. General observations.

END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

*In the original "sociétés de résistance."

† Illegal in France at this period under laws prohibiting restraint of trade.

Workers have one solution that will answer a lot of questions! Marches for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay in Cleveland (above) and New York City (below).

Marx's Questionnaire for Workers

By A. S. BERNSTEIN.

THE "Questionnaire for Workers" published in this issue first appeared anonymously in "La Revue Socialiste" in 1880. It is one of those numerous works of Marx which flashed across the pages of the international Press of the time, and were subsequently forgotten. This work will be included in the XV Volume of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels, which is now being prepared for the Press by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the C.C. C.P.S.U. (b). It is easy to establish the authorship of Marx from his letter to Sorge on November 5th, 1880, where he wrote: "I have drawn up a questionnaire for him (i.e., Malone), which was published first in the 'Revue Socialiste' and then distributed as a separate publication on a large scale throughout France."

The workers' movement in France, which was crushed and driven underground in the first years after the defeat of the Paris Commune, had again begun, at that time, to raise its head. The Marseilles Congress in 1879 marked the first serious victory of the *collectivists* in the French labour movement. The *collectivist* nucleus of the French workers' movement of that time, however, consisted of very heterogeneous elements—the Guesdeists, the left section of the Proudhonists who joined with them, anarchists, Blanquists, Jacobinists. In some strata of the varied composition of the French workers and handicraftsmen of this period, there was still to be found the soil which nourished the roots of various trends of petty bourgeois "socialism" which had been destroyed by the practice of life. The French workers' party, the programme of which was being worked out at this time, was faced with a complex struggle for the final victory of Marxism against the slogans of the Proudhonists, Blanquists and others, which still displayed considerable vitality. This was shown by the later history of the French workers' party, a history full of splits and sharp factional struggles, when, for instance, at one time six definitely formed organisations were fighting for supremacy in the workers' party.

The "questionnaire" emanating from the pen of Marx is a list of a hundred questions addressed to a French worker. These questions were divided into four sections. The first section contains twenty-nine questions concerning the description of the industry and the conditions of labour in it. The second section (question 30 to 45) deals with the working day. The third section (46 to 81) deals with wages and the fourth (82 to 100) with various forms of the struggle of the working-class for the improvement of the conditions of labour.

The exceptional skill of Marx is not only shown in the selection of the questions, which cover all the problems of the conditions of labour and life of the worker with the greatest completeness, but in the strict concreteness and simplicity of each separate question. Each section contains a number of questions selected and formulated in such a way as to help the rank and file worker, by simple consideration of his experience, to arrive at a decisive condemnation of the capitalist system and all petty-bourgeois illusions. From this point of view the "Questionnaire" is one of the best examples of the irreconcilable struggle of Marx on two fronts.

As a counterpoise to the "ignoring" of the State as preached by Proudhon, and the riotous struggle against the State as practised by Bakunin, Marx gives a series of leading questions which describe the class character of the capitalist State. "Is there municipal or government inspection of the hygienic conditions in the workshops?" (Question 17), "Is the employer forced *by law* to compensate the worker for accidents?" (Question 26), "What penalty does an employer suffer under the law, and what is the penalty for a worker if one of them violates an agreement" (Questions 48 and 49),—such is one type of question. And, finally, is another, more biting: "Does the Government seek to ensure that the existing labour laws will be carried into effect against the interests of the employers? (No. 94). Finally, the question is put directly: "Do you know of cases when the Government has misused armed forces, putting them at the service of employers against their wage workers?" "Do you know of any cases in which the Government has come out in support of the interests of the workers?" (92 and 93). By the simplest consideration of his own experience, the worker must here inevitably come step by step to an understanding of the essence of the capitalist Government.

In reply to the "class collaboration" of Louis Blanc, to the peaceful "mutualism" of Proudhon, to the dreams of Fourier of the solidarity of all classes, Marx demonstrates that the employer, the capitalist, is the fiercest and most determined enemy of the proletariat. This is the basic motive of the questionnaire, which is illustrated by practically every question. There was good reason for placing emphasis, in the first section, on questions dealing with accidents, and the refusal of the employers to spend money on safety devices or the further "compensation" of the workers. There was good reason for demonstrating in the second section—on the working day—all the artificial methods of prolonging the working day—cleaning machines, coming from home to work, and going home, the absence of proper meal intervals, etc. And in the third section—on

wages—the question is asked: "Does your employer use trickery to cheat you out of part of your earnings?" (56 and 57).

The question of whether wages are paid by the day, the week or the month is given in an instructive leading form: "How long do you give credit to your employer before you receive pay for the work which you perform?" (58). The following question (No. 59) is characteristic: "Have you noticed that delays in paying wages force you to go to the pawnshop and pay high interest there, depriving yourself of necessary articles, getting into debt to storekeepers, becoming their victim, because you are their debtor?" And after this, the worker understands that when counting up the absolutely necessary expenditures of his family he must include "loans and payments to the pawnbrokers" (69). In the same form ("Have you noticed") the worker gets an idea of the dynamics of his *real* wages, of the periodical "unwanted rest" periods in years of crisis (No. 75). Finally, there are two connected synthetic questions: "Did you ever know a rank-and-file worker who, at the age of 50, could give up work and live on the money he had earned?" and "How many years can a worker of average health work in your trade?" (80 and 81). The thing becomes clear. The capitalist is a merciless enemy, persecuting the worker right up to his death. How can there be illusions here? The worker has only one path—the path of battle. But *how* can he fight?

A whole section is devoted to this—the last nineteen questions. These nineteen questions are a classical example of the Marxist leadership of the mass movement, and his irreconcilable struggle on two fronts. How to battle? Mutiny, says the anarchist of the Bakunin school. A conspiracy of the class-conscious minority, says the Blanquist. But Marx pours cold water on them by his first serene question: "Are there resistance societies in your trade, and how are they led? Send their rules and regulations" (82). The last ground is cut from under the feet of the "left" rowdies by question No. 95, on voluntary societies for insurance against accident, sickness, death, old age, the rules of which the questionnaire requests to be sent. Not to split away from the masses, not to rush ahead, to be only "one step ahead" in advance of the mass movement—such is the teaching arising from every one of the questions of Marx. "How many strikes have taken place in your trade during your work in it, how long did they last? what were the results?" (83 and 87). asks the questionnaire quietly. But the next question already leads us forward: "Have there been cases in which strikes in your trade were supported by the workers in other trades?" (89). And the simple and clear questions No. 90-94 take us still further. In replying to them, the workers clearly see the inevitability of the growth of economic strikes into political strikes, the inevitability of clashes with all the forces of the capitalist Government.

The questions flow one after another, mercilessly striking at the right opportunists. "Tell what you know of the actions of arbitration courts," says Question 88 with cool irony. Question No. 97 puts the mutual aid societies (which are formed with the participation of the capitalists and under their control) under the microscope: "Do you know of cases," asks Marx in the same style, "in which the workers obtained any benefit from the so-called pension societies under the control of the employers?" A well-deserved blow is struck at the productive associations of Louis Blanc and Lassalle, which were revived in a still more disgusting form in the theory of Brusse (the leader of possibilism) on "services publiques." "Are there workshops in your trade in which the workers receive their pay, partly in the form of wages, and partly in the form of so-called participation in the profits? Give the duties of the workers who live under such a régime. Can they strike, etc., or are they only allowed to be faithful servants of the employer?" This consummately put question at once shows up the reactionary rôle of such associations. All such opportunist recipes for peaceful liberation from capitalism are useless. Only a definitely mass revolutionary struggle, by the working-class against the exploiters and their Government, only the dictatorship of the proletariat, can solve the problem.

* * *

The "Questionnaire for Workers" is an excellent example of the masterly skill of the founder of scientific socialism in linking up complex theoretical questions with the practical life and elementary needs of the masses. This example was followed by Lenin, who was able to link up the question of fines and hot water, with the political struggle for the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the working-class. This example was followed by Comrade Stalin, who linked up his Six Historic Points with the struggle for the continued improvement of the living conditions of the proletarian masses. This example of our talented teachers is followed by the Bolshevik Parties of the Communist International.

This forgotten work of Marx has lost none of its meaning to-day, fifty-two years after its first appearance, for the proletarian masses, fighting, and not far from the final victory. On the contrary, it is precisely at the present moment, in the conditions of the most intense crisis of capitalism, of unprecedented exploitation and poverty of the working-class, that every one of the questions put by Marx, and every answer to them, is a clear accusation against the bourgeoisie. The "Questionnaire" of Marx must be made widely known to the workers. The Communists must learn to put questions to the workers as practically and popularly as Marx in this "Questionnaire" we publish.

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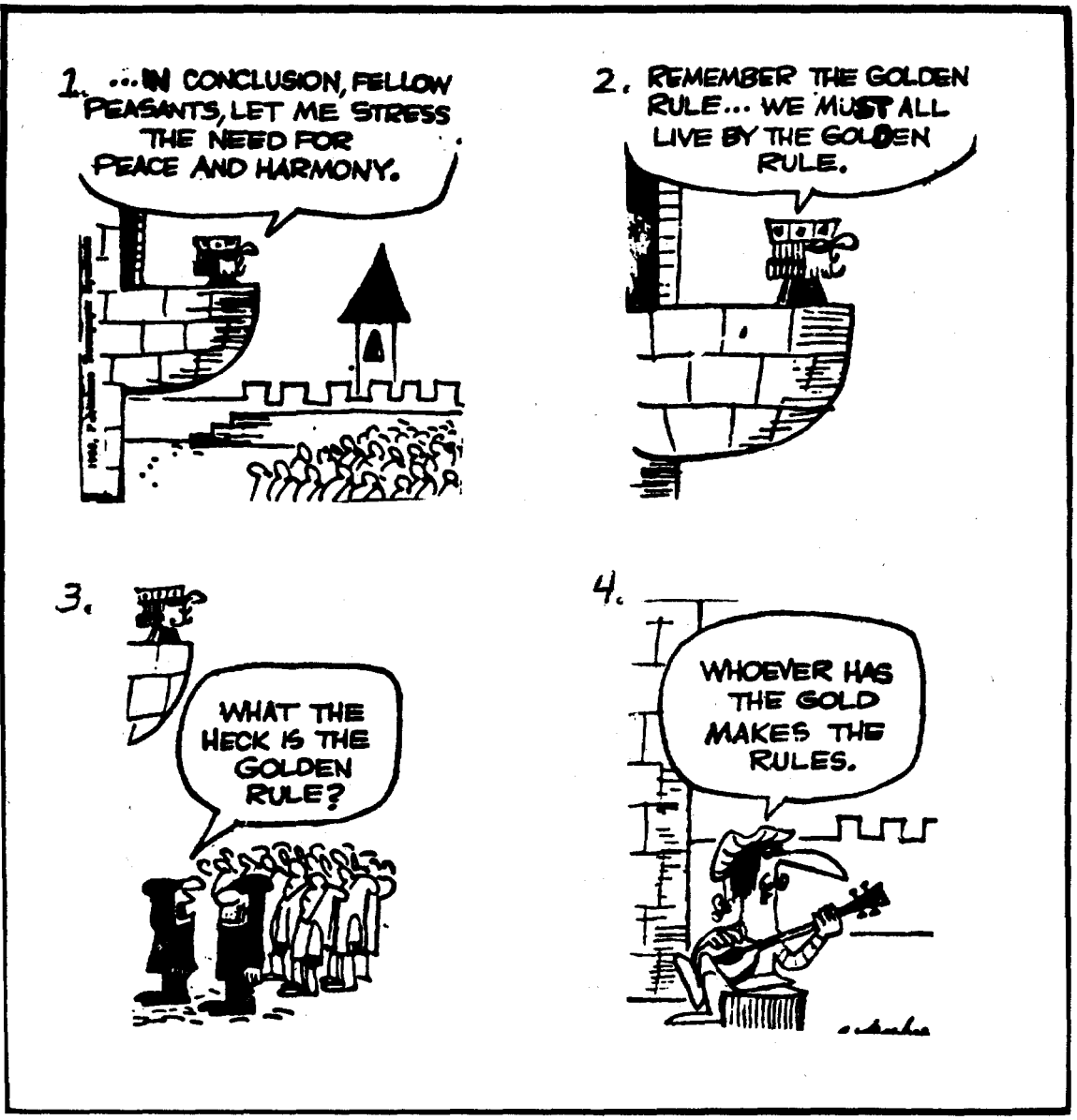

1. ...IN CONCLUSION, FELLOW PEASANTS, LET ME STRESS THE NEED FOR PEACE AND HARMONY.
2. REMEMBER THE GOLDEN RULE... WE MUST ALL LIVE BY THE GOLDEN RULE.
3. WHAT THE HECK IS THE GOLDEN RULE?
4. WHOEVER HAS THE GOLD MAKES THE RULES.

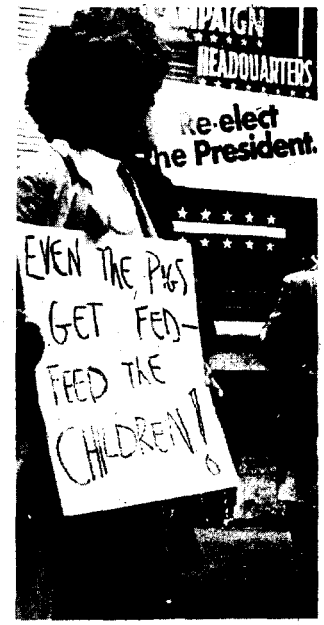
Anti-Meany Revolt Could Win With 30/40 —P. 2

CHALLENGE
The Marxist-Leninist Organ
October 19, 1972 Vol. 9, No. 11 PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY 10¢

Racists Scampering Like Rats! SDS Shows These Nazis There's No Place To Hide! FIGHT THE SDS BAN —PP. 14-15

Bosses' Lust for More Dough Creates Blinding Speed-Up, Causes World-Wide...

STRIKE FEVER IN AUTO



U.S. rulers want workers to roll over dead—but Boston demonstrators (above—see p. 13) and NY hospital workers striving for union recognition (below—see p. 9) were having none of that kind of defeatist nonsense. As stories inside indicate, mounting struggles of workers and students are not letting the bosses rest. By the very act of fighting back, we are winning a victory over their drive to stop such struggle. The sum of all these struggles is the overthrow of these oppressors and the establishment of socialism—workers' power.

Framingham: BIG Strike Vote!
Norwood: Rising Anger!
Canada: Walkouts Loom!
Spain: Citroen Shut Down! —P. 3

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Vietnam: Int'l Class War, Not Bosses' 'Peace'

pps. 2, 16

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The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

November 16, 1972 Vol. 9, No. 13 **PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY** 10¢

From the Military Front– GI's, Vets Panic Brass in World-Wide Actions

p. 12

Farmworkers and Allies' Battle Against Proposition 22

p. 3

Part of Workers' Grand Strategy to...

Wreck the Union-busters!

Intern'l Working Class Fighting for Shorter Hours With Big Pay Boost

French workers (above) and British workers (right) march in the streets of London and Paris, demanding less hours, more pay, and early retirement benefits. The demonstrations, which tell the bosses the international working class want a bigger piece of the profit pie, is also part of the heavy artillery the workers are levelling in their long-range war to destroy capitalism completely and for the establishment of a workers' state.

Goose-stepping Racists Must Be Brought To Heel

pps. 2, 4, 7, 10, 14, 15